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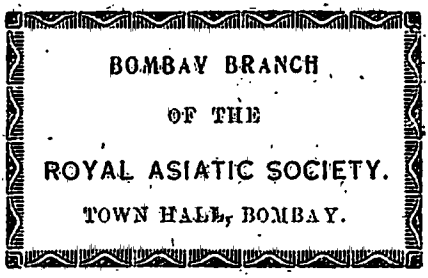

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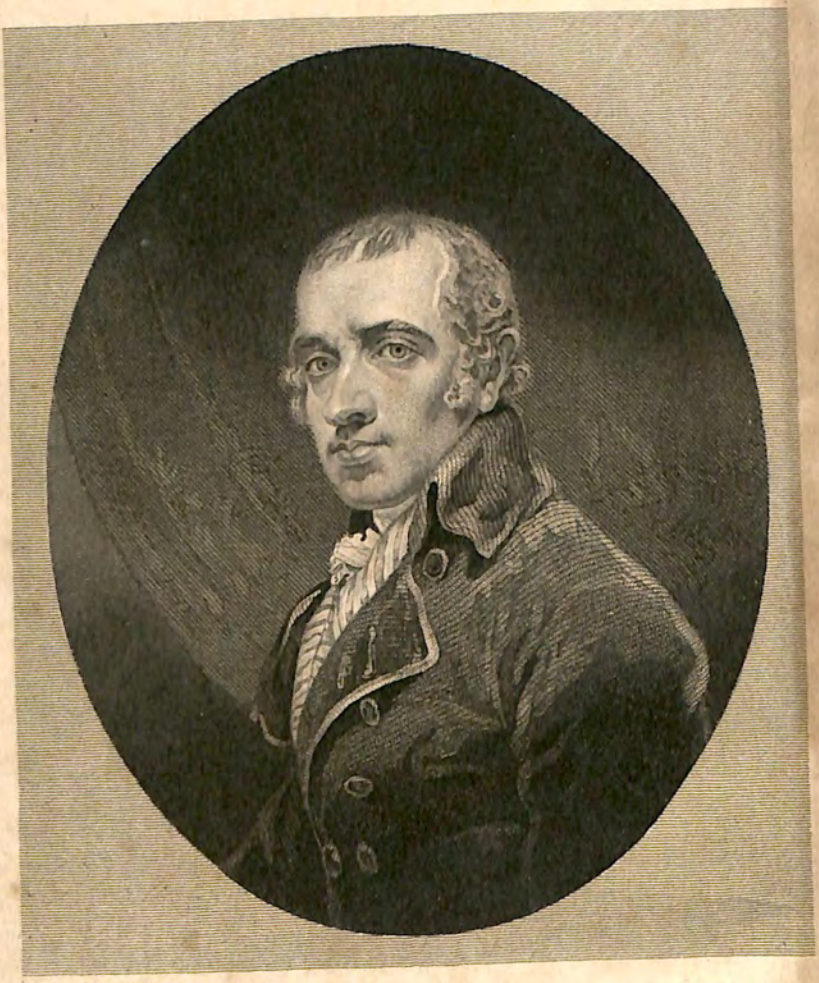

JAMES GILLRAY.

ENGRAVED FROM A MINIATURE PAINTED BY HIMSELF, BY JOS. BROWN.

ENGLAND

UNDER

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER;

ITS HISTORY AND CONDITION DURING THE REIGNS OF THE THREE GEORGES,

ILLUSTRATED FROM

The Caricatures and Satires of the Day.

BY

THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., &c.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE (ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES LETTRES).

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS, EXECUTED BY F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A.

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ENGLAND

UNDER

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

CHAPTER IX.

GEORGE III.

VIOLENT POLITICAL AGITATION.—THE NORTH ADMINISTRATION.—THE FOXES. — REMONSTRANCES AND PETITIONS.—THE BUTTON-MAKER. — LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.—CARICATURES ON THE AMERICAN WAR. — ADMIRAL KEPPEL.—WAR WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN. — NO POPERY; THE LONDON RIOTS. — ATTACKS ON THE EARL OF SANDWICH AND ON LORD NORTH; THE POLITICAL WASHERWOMAN.—OVERTHROW OF LORD NORTH'S MINISTRY.—RODNEY'S TRIUMPHS.—ROCKINGHAM AND SHELBURNE ADMINISTRATIONS.—AMERICA.

At the moment that John Wilkes was losing his personal importance, Lord Chatham reappeared on the stage with redoubled energy, and he continued for several years to support, by his voice and example, the opposition in Parliament. The result was a continuance of stormy sessions, such as had seldom been seen in either house before; and attacks were made not only on the ministers, but on the Crown also, within the walls of St. Stephen's, which far exceeded anything that had appeared in the *North Britons* without. The latter also were succeeded by papers of a still more violent character; and the language with which the press had attacked Bute was feeble in comparison with

the powerful and fearless hostility of the celebrated Junius, or the abuse of the *Whisperer*, a political paper established at the beginning of 1770, which seldom deigned to apply to the King's ministers more gentle epithets than that of "diabolical villains." This journal contained articles openly exciting the people to rebellion; and indeed everything seemed to threaten a great national convulsion.

The opposition made its muster in attacking the address at the opening of Parliament in the beginning of January, 1770, and shewed strong in talent, if not powerful in numbers; and this first question was productive of important, and, as appears, rather unexpected results. The opposition was, moreover, acting with greater unity than had distinguished it for some time; for Lord Chatham had formed a close alliance with the Rockingham party, and the Marquis of Rockingham, who carried weight by his integrity of character and his parliamentary abilities, was personally a valuable ally in the House of Lords.* The two principal subjects of contention were, the ministerial policy with regard to America, where affairs were progressing fast towards civil war, and, at home, the infringement of the constitution in the case of Wilkes and the Middlesex election. On the first

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

* The subjoined portrait of the Marquis of Rockingham, as well as that of Colonel Barré which follows, is taken from the series of slightly caricatured portraits etched by Sayer, and published in 1782. They are valuable keys to the caricatures of the day.

debate on this question in the House of Lords (Jan. 9), the chancellor, Lord Camden, to the surprise of everybody, seconded Lord Chatham, expressed his opinion strongly against the proceedings of the ministers in the case of Wilkes, and declared that, as a minister of the Crown, he had long disapproved the arbitrary measures pursued by his colleagues. Lord Camden was, as might be expected, immediately deprived of the seals, and one of the only men who brought any popularity to the court party was thus thrown into the opposition. The place of Lord Chancellor of England literally went a begging, and was refused by everybody, and, after the suicide of the Hon. Charles York, who had been with difficulty prevailed upon to accept it, was at length put in commission.

Among the foremost leaders of the opposition in the House of Lords were now, after Lord Chatham, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Dukes of Richmond, Portland, and Devonshire, and Lords Shelburne and Temple. In the lower house, the principal leaders and ablest speakers were Edmund Burke, Colonel Barré, George Grenville, Dowdeswell, and others. Colonel Barré was particularly distinguished by the boldness and vehemence with which he attacked the measures of government. He had been first thrown into the opposition by personal slights received from the Court; and his resentment was afterwards embittered by ill-treatment which he expe-

COLONEL BARRÉ.

rienced in his profession, the army. The debate on the address produced effects in the House of Commons similar to those we have just seen in the House of Lords; the Marquis of Granby, the popular commander-in-chief of the army, joined the opposition, and subsequently threw up his appointment. The opposition was here further strengthened by the acquisition of Mr. Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, who followed his friend, Lord Camden, and by several other defections from the ministry. The latter, however, seemed but little weakened, when suddenly, at the end of January, the Duke of Grafton gave in his resignation as prime-minister. Upon this the ministry underwent some slight modifications, and Lord North was raised to the dignity of premier. The celebrated North administration thus began on the 28th of February, 1770.

At this moment some of the men began to take their place on the political stage, whom we shall find acting a prominent part in the stirring events of the latter part of the century. Among these was the celebrated Charles James Fox, the second son of Lord Holland, who, now little more than a youth, was exerting his extraordinary talents in support of the measures of the Duke of Grafton and Lord North, and he thus began the world under the weight of unpopularity which had attached itself to the names of those ministers. Charles Fox, as well as his elder brother, had been early initiated into the dissipations of the time by their father; and his passion for gambling had already reduced him to neediness. He was under age at the time he entered the House of Commons, where the hope of place made him a stanch supporter of the Court; and he was the most energetic opponent of Burke (his subsequent friend) in the de-

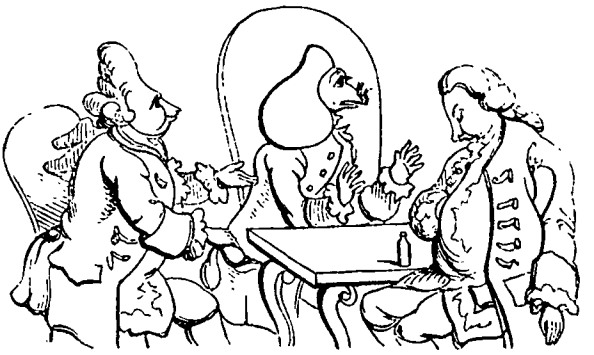
bate on the address. In the changes which followed the Duke of Grafton's resignation, Fox was made a junior lord of the Admiralty, and within three years after he was made a lord of the Treasury. Horace Walpole writes, on the 2nd of February, 1770, the day after Fox's first appointment to office, "Charles Fox shines equally there [at the hazard-table] and in the House of Commons; he was twenty-one yesterday se'nnight, and is already one of our best speakers. Yesterday he was made a lord of the Admiralty." A few months later (April 1772), Walpole went to the house to hear the young orator, and he tells us that "Fox's abilities are amazing at so very early a period, especially under the circumstances of such a dissolute life. He was just arrived from Newmarket, had sat up drinking all night, and had not been in bed. How such talents make one laugh at Tully's rules for an orator, and his indefatigable application! His laboured orations are puerile in comparison of this boy's manly reason." On the 27th of November, 1773, Walpole writes again, "Lord Holland is dying, is paying Charles Fox's debts, or most of them, for they amount to one hundred and thirty thousand pounds! Ay, ay; and has got a grandson and heir. I thought this child a prophet, who came to foretell the ruin and dispersion of the *Jews;* but while there is a broker or a gamester upon the face of the earth, Charles will not be out of debt." *

* At this period the passion for gambling was carried to absolute madness among the young aristocracy. The magazines and papers of the day contain numerous examples of their extravagances. Thus, in the *Oxford Magazine* for October, 1770, we are told, "A few days since some sprigs of our hopeful nobility, who were dining together at a tavern at the west end of the town, took the following sensible conceit into their heads after dinner. One of

While Fox continued in his speeches sneering openly at "the voice of the people," it is no wonder that, with his father's unpopularity hanging over him, he became a mark for the popular satirists and caricaturists, who gave him the title of "the Young Cub," and made the most of his private vices. A print in the *Oxford Magazine* for February, 1770, immediately after Charles Fox's appointment to a seat at the Admiralty board, is entitled "The Death of the Foxes." It represents an old fox and a young fox hanged side by side on a gallows, while the farmer, John Bull, and his wife, are rejoicing at the liberation of their poultry-yard from such vermin. The youthful statesman was already remarkable for his corpulence. The same number of the *Oxford Magazine*, which is illustrated by the print just mentioned, contains a series of political

them observing a maggot come from a filbert, which seemed to be uncommonly large, attempted to get it from his companion, who not choosing to let it go, was immediately offered five guineas for it, which were accepted. He then proposed to run it against any other two maggots that could be produced at table. Matches were accordingly made, and the poor insects were the means of five hundred pounds being won and lost in a few minutes." On another similar occasion, some hundreds of pounds were hazarded on the relative velocity of two drops of rain running down a pane of glass, which, however, disappointed the gamesters by joining in one before they reached the appointed goal. Statesmen and prime-ministers were affected with the same infatuation. We are told in the *Town and Country Magazine* for March 1770, that "the late premier (the Duke of Grafton) was at one period of his life so addicted to gaming, that he lost his seat of E—n-hall (Euston-hall) one night to the late Duke of C——d (Cumberland), who generously returned it to him, on condition of his never losing above a hundred pounds at one sitting." Horace Walpole, July 10, 1774, tells of a still more extravagant amusement. One of these gamblers, he informs us, "has committed a murder, and intends to repeat it. He betted 1500*l.* that a man could live twelve hours under water; hired a desperate fellow, sunk him in a ship, by way of experiment, and both ship and man have not appeared since. Another man and ship are to be tried for their lives instead of Mr. Blake, the assassin."

cross-readings from newspapers, one of which is, "Speakers on the side of Admin——n,* the Hon. C. Fox, Esq.—He is reckoned the fattest man in England next to Mr. Bright." In December, 1773, the *Oxford Magazine* published another caricature against the family of the Foxes. The old Fox is



A NEST OF FOXES.

seated at the table, apparently giving the young ones his serious advice, to which the son and heir, seated to the right, appears to listen with attention. The "young cub," Charles, who, from his dark visage had already obtained the nickname of Niger, sits on the other side, picking his father's pocket. In the original, over his head, is the inscription "*Hic niger est;*" beneath him, on the ground, lie *Hoyle's Games* and a brace of dice, and the devil concealed under the table, holds him chained by the feet. The inscription under the plate is, "Robbed between sun and sun." The old fox, Lord Holland, died at the beginning of July, 1774; but his son Charles, who seems to have been no longer held in check by the

* Administration. Parliament, and especially the court party, was at this time so jealous of any publication of what passed within doors, that it was necessary thus to make indirect or concealed allusions even to the names of the speakers.

paternal politics of the house, had already quarrelled with the minister, and was throwing himself into the ranks of the patriots. On the 24th of February, 1774, Walpole announces to his correspondent in Italy, "The famous Charles Fox was this morning turned out of his place as lord of the Treasury, for great flippancies in the house towards Lord North. His parts will now have a full opportunity of shewing whether they can balance his character, or whether patriotism can whitewash it." It is due to Fox's character to say, that from this moment he continued during his life steady and consistent in the political principles he now embraced.

While things were going on anything but peaceably within the walls of the legislature, the agitation through the country without was increasing, and the North administration soon found itself engaged in a violent war with the city, and involved in the most vexatious and unprofitable hostilities with the old enemy of the Court—the press. The year 1769 had seen the commencement of the letters of Junius; and at the end of May in the same year a petition from the city of London was presented to the King in full levee, violently attacking the court measures, and asking for the dismissal of ministers and the dissolution of the Parliament which by its venality had lost the confidence of the country. Many of the counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom followed the example of the capital; but the King, who seemed resolved to push the war between royal prerogative and popular freedom to a crisis, refused to listen to their complaints, and, in opening the session at the beginning of 1770, the King's speech spoke of a disease that prevailed among horned cattle, instead of alluding

to the violent agitation under which the kingdom then laboured. This was greedily seized upon by the satirists of the day; it was commonly said, that the King cared more for his own farm-yard than for the interests of his subjects; and from this time he was often sneered at under the title of "Farmer George." It was further understood, that the royal leisure at Kew was often occupied in turning on the lathe and other similar amusements, and that royal ingenuity had gone so far as to construct "a button;" and the crime of button-making was in popular ridicule long coupled with the dignities of the British crown. The caricaturists made the horned cattle story tell upon other branches of the royal family; for the Duke of Cumberland, one of the King's brothers, had just been surprised at St. Alban's in an intrigue with Lady Grosvenor, for which he paid dear; and before many days had passed over the royal speech, a caricature on the court appeared under the title, "The Trial of Mr. Cumberland for spreading the distemper among the horned cattle at St. Alban's and other parts."

The King himself seemed bent upon desperate measures. The *Whisperer* (of Feb. 24, 1770) asserts, that, "when the Marquis of Granby resigned his employments, the King said to him, 'Granby, do you think the army would fight for me?' To which the marquis nobly replied, 'I believe, sir, some of your officers would, but I will not answer for the men.'" Whether this be true or not, it is certain that Lord Marchmont, one of the most zealous of those whom the King now began to term "his friends," was so indiscreet as to talk in the House of Lords of the possible necessity of calling in foreign assistance. Expressions like these were repeated and commented

upon abroad; and the citizens of London, who had voted the petition to which no answer had been returned, were further irritated by a report that some high persons about the throne had designated them as "the *scum of the earth* and *dregs of the people*." They determined to lay their complaints again before the King; and a very strongly-worded document was got up, under the title of an "Address, Remonstrance, and Petition," which complained of the dangers to which the country was exposed from secret and evil counsellors and a corrupt majority of the House of Commons, and called to the King's memory the fate of Charles the First and James the Second. The King is said to have consented only with extreme reluctance to receive this remonstrance: it was carried to St. James's on the 14th of March by the lord-mayor, attended by a numerous body of the common-councilmen and city officers, and accompanied by an immense mob; and the King received it on the throne, but he is said to have shewn a lowering countenance, and he returned a rebuking answer, concealing his anger with difficulty. Some of the courtiers also are said to have used impatient gestures, and to have held out indecent threats of depriving the city of its liberties. The Court, indeed, at once resolved to proceed with rigour against the persons chiefly concerned in getting up this petition; and some very angry proceedings took place in the House of Commons; but these were subsequently relinquished by the urgent advice of Lord North and the more moderate of the ministers. The King is said to have complained in private that his ministers had not supported him in bridling the insolence of his subjects.

A number of caricatures, in rapid succession, exhi-

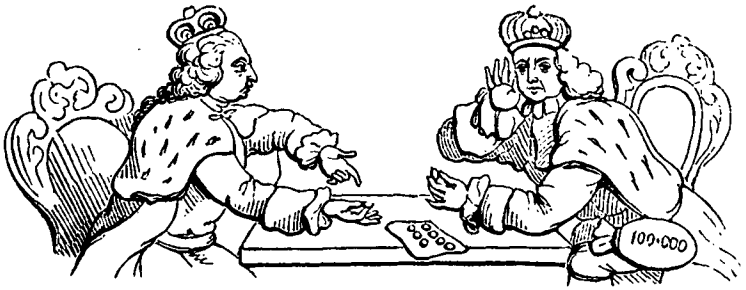
bited the bitter sentiments of the popular party on the treatment experienced by their petitions and remonstrances. The *Oxford Magazine* for April, 1770, contains a caricature, entitled "The Button-Maker," which represents the mayor and sheriffs presenting their "Remonstrance," to which the King refuses to listen, exclaiming, as he shews his buttons to two noblemen in attendance, "I cannot attend to your remonstrance! Do not you see that I have been employed in business of much more consequence?" One of the noble attendants observes, "What taste! what elegance! Not a prince in Europe can make such buttons!" while the other courtier, in the same strain, adds, "What a genius! why, he was born a button-maker!"

However rude the language of petitions and remonstrances in speaking of the House of Commons may have appeared, the great corruption of that branch of the legislature, at the period of which we are now speaking, was notorious; and it was the money of the Court only that overbalanced the eloquence of the opposition. The latter only became more violent by the consciousness of its numerical weakness. In the March of 1770 the popular leaders in both houses were again declaiming against the secret influence behind the throne, and the cry was quickly caught by the mob, and chalked up against every wall in execrations against the Dowager Princess of Wales. Men who had been ministers declared openly that their counsel had become unpalatable to the royal ear the moment it savoured of constitutional liberty. On the 23rd of May, the lord-mayor (Beckford), with some aldermen, and a numerous train of city worthies, presented a new remonstrance to the King, less violent

in its language, but complaining of their treatment on former occasions. The reply was, a new rebuke; upon which the bold lord-mayor obtained leave, in the confusion of the moment, to make an extempore speech, which roused the King's anger so much, that he immediately issued orders that no lord-mayor should be allowed thus to address the throne again. The indignation of the city was so great, that, if some moderate men of their own party had not persuaded them otherwise, they were on the point of refusing to congratulate the King on the birth of a Princess; but very shortly afterwards, on the 21st of June, city patriotism experienced a serious loss in the death of Beckford. About a fortnight before this event, the Princess Dowager of Wales, the object of so much popular odium, had left England on a visit to Germany —an event which, as we learn from Horace Walpole, was immediately sung about the streets in a ballad, the burden of which was "The cow has left her calf!"

Although these events were succeeded by an appearance of tranquillity, the fate of the city remonstrances continued long to be a subject of discontent; and the occupation of button-making was sung about the streets in ballads and lampoons with obstinate perseverance. Most of these, to judge by an example now in my possession, entitled "A New Dialogue between the Devil and Mr. King the Button-maker," were too scurrilous and doggerel to be quoted. A rather extensive class among the popular literature of this period consisted of jest-books, which were sometimes fertile in political satire. Thus, in the April of 1770 was published a collection entitled, in allusion to the *sobriquet* of Lord Sandwich, "Jemmy Twitcher's Jests."

In the following November appeared "The Button-maker's Jests," with a coarse caricature on the King for a frontispiece. We may perhaps rest satisfied with the opinion expressed in a contemporary review, that it was a piece of "low scurrility." But the subject was revived again and again in a variety of forms; and in February, 1771, when the peace between England and Spain was nearly broken by the quarrel concerning the Falkland Islands, the two monarchs, said to have been both distinguished for the same sort of mechanical ingenuity, are introduced in a caricature in the *Oxford Magazine*, settling their differences over a paper of buttons. The bag of money on the Spanish King's



BUTTON-MAKERS.

lap is described as "A bribe for the P—— D—— of W——s;" and the Don says, "His M—m—'s directions are very good: we 'll let him breathe a little, while she and I undermine the constitution." The mind of King George is entirely absorbed with one subject: he exclaims to his rival, "I say you never made so good a button in all your life." The preceding number of the same magazine contains one of the latest caricatures on the petitions, entitled "The Fate of City Remonstrances," in which the King is represented as giving the petitions of his subjects to the boyish Prince of Wales as materials for kites. In

another print, published a few weeks later, Farmer George is seen in slovenly garb, attending to his nursery and the state of the weather, and utterly unconscious of the grievances of his country.

It was just at this moment that a new source of contention arose to embroil the ministers with the city of London. The former were constantly occupied with prosecutions against the Letters of Junius and other violent political papers, from which they derived no advantage, and which passed over without attracting more than a very temporary notice; but there were strong things said within the walls of Parliament, which, satisfied with carrying all their measures by a large bought majority, it was the interest of ministers to keep from the public ears. At no period was the English Parliament so absurdly jealous of the publication of its proceedings as at this time, when the license of the press out of doors was almost unbounded; and the most extraordinary precautions were taken to conceal what was said within from the knowledge of those without. At the beginning of 1771, some newspapers ventured on giving reports of the parliamentary debates, notes of which they of course obtained through members of the house, when Col. George Onslow, one of the lords of the Treasury, who had been spoken of by his popular nick-name of "Cocking George," brought forward the question of privilege in rather an angry manner. At the end of February and the beginning of March, there were several warm debates on the subject, and warrants were issued to arrest the printers, who dwelt in the city. The latter also stood upon its privileges: no one would give information where the offenders were to be found; and when some of them were seized,

they were set at liberty by the city magistrates. Another person arrested was not only set at liberty, but he charged the messenger of the House of Commons with an assault; upon which the lord-mayor (Crosby) with two aldermen (Oliver and Wilkes) signed a commitment against him, and he was obliged to find bail. On the 18th of March, the House of Commons, in a heat, summoned the lord-mayor to attend in his place, which he did the next day, attended thither by a prodigious mob. Some members who had been insulted by the mob, such as Charles Fox, spoke in great anger. Every day, while the house was occupied with this question, it was surrounded by the infuriated populace, who hissed and hooted the members distinguished by their support of the court. Within the house the debates became at last almost as stormy as the riot without. A party of the opposition publicly seceded, and Colonel Barré told the house that their conduct was infamous, that no honest man could sit amongst them, and then walked away. On the 28th of March it was resolved to commit the lord-mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower. The house avoided attacking Alderman Wilkes, who was probably the chief offender. The mob on this day had been unusually violent, having dragged Charles Fox and his brother from their chariot, and assaulted them violently; and Lord North's chariot was destroyed, and he himself narrowly escaped being torn to pieces. The next day the King went to the house, when the mob, which is said to have assembled to the number of at least eighty thousand, hissed and insulted his Majesty, and again attempted to vent their fury on Charles Fox, a large stone thrown at him having passed through both windows of his carriage. Fox

was looked upon as one of the chief promoters of these violent measures; and one of the daily newspapers tells us, that "the resentment of the populace would probably not have been carried so far as it was, but for the indecent and most shocking behaviour of Mr. Charles Fox, who is supposed to have great influence with his Majesty, and already assumes the style and post of minister. This youth, for about half an hour, was leaning out of a coffee-house window in Palace Yard, shaking his fist at the people, and provoking them by all the reproachful words and menacing gestures that he could invent. George Selwyn stood behind, encouraging him, and clapping him on the back, as if he was a dirty ruffian going to fight in the streets." The prisoners remained in the Tower till after the prorogation of the Parliament, and were quite as formidable there as in the Mansion House. The fashionable toast in London was, in allusion to Alderman Oliver, "Success to Oliver the Second!" Mobs continued to encumber the streets. At midday, on the 5th of April, two carts, preceded by a hearse, were dragged in slow procession through the city to Tower Hill, amidst a vast concourse of people. The two carts had each a gallows stretched across, with large pasteboard figures hung upon them; those in the first cart being labelled on the back "L—d B—n" (Lord Barrington), "L—d H—x" (Lord Halifax), and "Alderman H—," the latter being an unpopular member of the court of aldermen, from his known attachment to ministers. The figures in the second cart were labelled "L— the Usurper," "De G—y" (De Grey), "J—y T—r" (Jemmy Twitcher, *i. e.* Lord Sandwich), and "C—g G—e" (Cocking George, *i. e.* Col. Onslow). At the Tower Hill,

the gallowses and figures were committed to the fire; and the dying speeches of "some supposed malefactors" were subsequently cried about the streets. A rudely engraved print of this mock procession, with the speeches put into the mouths of the malefactors, is in the collection of Mr. Hawkins.

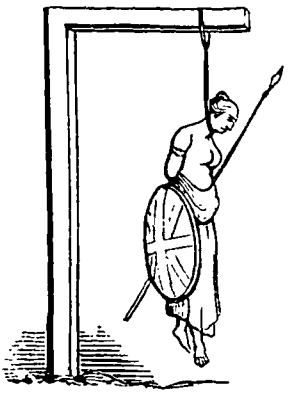
The court-party now made an attempt to strengthen themselves a little in public opinion, by working upon the fears and prejudices of the populace, and by other similar means, and with a certain degree of success. They raised suspicions of foreign designs on this country, and excited jealousy of foreign aggrandisement, as well as of domestic treason. Among reports used for this purpose, was a pretended plot to embarrass our naval preparations by burning Portsmouth dock-yard, and two or three very humble individuals were arrested on this charge. This affair seems to have caused no great excitement; and we hardly trace it in the journals of the time, except by a caricature published in the *Oxford Magazine* for September, 1771, designed as a satire upon the venality and partiality of the police-courts under the celebrated Justice Fielding. Fielding had occupied his prominent seat on the magisterial bench for a great number of years; and he was now old, and remarkable for his fatness and his blindness. In a satirical list of imaginary masquerade characters in the *Westminster Magazine*, for December, 1772, the watchful, but now blind magistrate, is thus introduced—"Argus, whose eyes were sealed by Mercury, Sir J. Fielding." The caricature alluded to is entitled, "The blind justice, and the secretaries One-eye and No-head examining the old woman and little girl about the firing Portsmouth dockyard." Justice herself is represented as fat and bloated, and as venal as her official repre-

sentative. The latter, blind as he is, addresses himself to the prisoners: "I see plainly you are guilty, you have a hanging look." One of the secretaries of state, who has his eye covered, adds, "Somebody must be hanged for this, right or wrong, to quiet the mob and save our credit." The other secretary, being represented not only as intellectually but bodily without a head, says nothing. The woman accused replies, "No more than your worships have: I 'm a poor honest woman; my betters know more of the fire than I."

JUSTICE.

The ministers were now actively working in the city of London, by indirectly influencing elections, &c. to obtain a majority, or at least a greater influence, in the city councils; and in this they had at times considerable success. The death of Beckford, in the summer of 1770, had shaken the strength of the city patriots; and their weaknesses had been increased by division among themselves. In May, 1772, we find a caricature on the ministerial influence in the city under the title of "The difference of weight between court and city aldermen;" in which their regard for the principles they profess, is estimated at a very low rate. On one side the cap of liberty is treated with the utmost disgrace; and in a framed picture on the wall above, poor Britannia, whom we have so often seen abused and ill-treated by one party or the other, is represented as having arrived at the last degree of ignominy, by being

hanged on a gallows. In the October of the same year we have another caricature, entitled "The city junta, or, the ministerial aldermen in consultation." These political divisions in the city were productive of serious domestic riots; and at the lord-mayor's feast in 1772, the civic party were disturbed at their festivities in Guildhall by the violence of the mob without.



AN EXECUTION.

Several of the caricatures we have been describing were published with different monthly magazines, which from 1769 to 1772, had been largely illustrated with such subjects. The lull of political agitation is at this time made evident by the altered tone of these publications, which become suddenly tamer in style, and contain less of politics, and the caricatures give place to views of towns and of gentlemen's seats, or to pictures of birds and flowers. Caricatures, indeed, begin now to be scarce, and in general spiritless, till the violence of political agitation began to be felt again about 1780, towards the end of the North administration. The convention with Spain in 1771, and the management of our increasing Indian empire about the same time, were the subjects of considerable discontent, and gave rise to a few prints; and, when the agitation excited by the remonstrances and the imprisonment of the lord-mayor began to subside, the ministers were attacked more generally for their support of arbitrary power at home, and for the want of dignity in their foreign policy, and especially for their

neglect of the navy, the natural defence of this country, which was under the direction of the unpopular Lord Sandwich. The first number of the *Westminster Magazine* for December, 1772, contains a political satire, entitled, "A conversation which passed between the lion and the unicorn at St. James's, after the meeting of Parliament in 1772." It is a bitter complaint against the corruptions of the Government, and sneers at the King's taste for making snuff-boxes and buttons, instead of occupying himself with the wants of his subjects. The neglect of the navy is accounted for by the supposition that the King cared only for the defence of his own person against his subjects, for which soldiers were far more necessary than sailors, and it exhibits a little of the old jealousy against a standing army. Sandwich, says the lion, cared little how the sailors were provided for:—

"LION.

"Ah, the sailors are what Master George should observe;
But Sandwich declares all the heroes shall starve:
For by keeping them hungry, you keep 'em all keen,
That like half-famish'd crows, which on carrion you've seen,
They will fly at the French with the stomachs of hogs,
And, like storks, in a trice clear the sea of the frogs.

"UNICORN.

"'Tis a comical maxim, and much out of nature,
For me, Master Sandwich, faith, never shall cater;
But if they don't quiet these terrible storms,*
All our men and our ships will be eat by the worms.

"LION.

"The ships! what are they to our sensible master?
'Tis the horse and the foot which devour all the pasture.
Will shipping defend him at London and Kew?
No,—then what, pray, with shipping has Georgy to do?

* The weather that season was extraordinarily tempestuous, and a great number of ships of all sorts had perished.

'Tis the soldiers, my boy, upon Wimbledon Common,
That tickle his eye, and the gigg of each woman;
Their buttons he makes, and he cocks all their hats,
With them he rides out too, and merrily chats."

The same magazine, for February, 1773, contains a caricature entitled "The state cotillion," founded on the rage for dancing then prevalent, and conveying a general satire on the administration. Lord Mansfield, the chancellor, is represented dancing on Magna Charta; and North is dancing on the national debt and on bills of grievances. Other bills are trampled upon by different ministers. The King peeps through a door on one side, and seems to enjoy the sport. On the other side, Lord Bute is represented playing on the bagpipes the tune of "Over the water to Charley." The *Oxford Magazine* of the following May was adorned with a caricature representing the King with North and Sandwich in council, getting up a sham war, as an excuse for raising money for the Court, while they receive secret subsidies from France to keep the nation quiet.

It was at this time, however, that our foreign relations were becoming every day more complicated and threatening. The dispute with the American colonies had now continued for several years; and it became almost the sole question in debate between our political parties at home. But, even among those who complained most of the want of foresight shewn by our ministers in their measures with regard to the Americans, the cause of the latter was not everywhere viewed in the same light; for many condemned equally the violent conduct of the insurgents, and the evident design, already encouraged by a number of ambitious men amongst them, to throw off their allegiance to the English Crown. This was the real hindrance to a re-

conciliation. There were others, however, in the mother-country who took up the cause of the colonists with less reservation. Among the numerous pamphlets on this subject announced in the month of May, 1770, soon after the first collision between the mob and the soldiers in Boston, in which the blame most certainly belonged to the former, two bear the titles of "A short narrative of the horrid massacre in Boston," and, "Innocent blood crying from the streets of Boston." Prints of these, and of other alleged acts of violence, were distributed abroad; yet the subsequent conduct of the Bostonians, and of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, exasperated the English people, and gave unpopularity to the cause of the Americans. This, however, did not save the English ministers from the charge of obstinate folly and imprudence; while conciliation might have availed, they were insolent and tyrannical, and while they provoked the Americans

A STRONG DOSE OF TEA.

more and more to resistance, they overlooked the magnitude of the question, and took measures of defence totally inadequate to avert the danger, which was thus allowed to gain head, until conciliation was no longer available. The tea bill was represented in

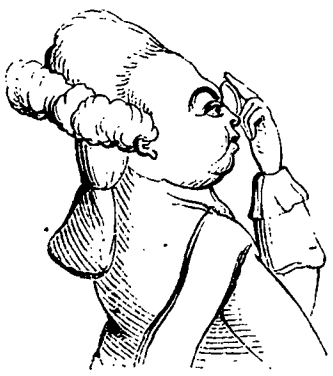
popular squibs and caricatures as a bitter dose, which Lord North was forcing upon an unwilling patient *usque ad nauseam*. One caricature represents America held down by Lord Mansfield, the lord-chancellor, and compiler of the late obnoxious acts against the colonies, while Lord North pours the tea down her throat; Britannia is seen behind, weeping at her distress. In another caricature, published with the *Westminster Magazine* for April, 1774, under the title of "The Whitehall Pump," poor Britannia is thrown down upon her child, America,

BRITANNIA IN DISTRESS.

while Lord North, who was remarkable for his shortness of vision, viewing her through his glass, is pumping upon her, and appears to be enjoying her distress. Underneath fallen Britannia, a multitude of acts and bills are scattered over the ground, bearing the titles of "Magna Charta," "The Bill of Rights," "Coronation Oaths," "Remonstrances," "Petitions," &c. The chancellor, Lord Mansfield, holding an act of Parliament in his hand, stands by the prime-minister, to encourage and support him. The other members of the

cabinet, who are also in attendance, have joy marked strongly on their countenances. The pump is surmounted by the not very intellectual features of King George. Other people — for there were many shades of opinion with regard to America — deceived by the outward declarations of the colonists, seized upon every new breath of apparent conciliation to preach up the advantages of amity and concord. A caricature, undated, entitled "A Political Concert," represents Britannia and her disobedient daughter reconciled, and united in supporting the cap of liberty. It was, indeed, the common outcry of the extreme opposition in this country, that the attack upon the civil rights of the American colonists was only a step towards the destruction of popular liberty at home.

CONCORD.



BOREAS.

Among the caricatures on ministerial improvidence, one published in October, 1774, represents Lord North in the character of blustering "Boreas," (the *sobriquet* which was commonly applied to him,) eyeing the distant colonies through his glass, and shewing his ignorance of the difficulties with which he had to contend by the flippant and vaunting threat "I promise to reduce the Americans in three months."

It was the American question which finally, in 1774, placed Charles James Fox in opposition to the

ministers, and which stirred up the ancient fire of Lord Chatham's eloquence during the latter years of his life. The English Parliament, with bill after bill, urged on the colonists, until they threw themselves into open war with the mother-country; while the insulting language of the Americans only gave an excuse for the English acts of Parliament against them, and so much disgusted the people of England, that the strength of the English ministry was daily increased. The general election of 1774 added so much to their majority in the House of Commons, that they were relieved of all fears from the opposition there. The war with America, which may now be said to have commenced, was a series of blunders and follies, which involved this country in perpetual disasters. The memorable battle of Bunker's Hill was fought on the 16th of June, 1775; and the same year the "United States of America" made their declaration of independence. The war was now carried on with great animosity during this and the following year, the Americans no longer concealing the real object of the struggle, which was not relief from a trifling grievance, but the resolution to break their allegiance to the mother-country, and establish themselves as a separate empire. Now the popular complaint against the ministers was, that their preparations to reduce the colonists to obedience were inadequate and ill-directed, and that England was betrayed into danger by her own rulers. In a caricature published in April, 1776, under the title of "The Parricide," Young America is represented in the act of making a ferocious attack on her mother, Britannia, who, held down by the ministers, is unable to defend herself. The British lion is roused into a state of furious agita-

tion, ready to throw himself upon the assailant, but he is bridled and restrained by Lord Mansfield. There were many who already foresaw what must be the ultimate result of the contest; and they looked forward with apprehension to a period when liberty and civilization would fly from the shores of Britain, to establish themselves in greater glory in the New World. The following spirited poem, published in the June of the year 1776, and placed in the mouth of Lord Chatham, embodies these ideas.

LORD CHATHAM'S PROPHECY.

"When boasting Gage was hurried o'er
To dye his sword in British gore,
And plead the senate's right,
E'en Chatham, with indignant smile,
Harangued in this prophetic style,
Illumed by freedom's light!

"Your plumed corps though Percy cheers,
And far-famed British grenadiers,
Renown'd for martial skill;
Yet Albion's heroes bite the plain,
Her chiefs round gallant Howe are slain,
And fallow Bunker's Hill.

"Some tuneful bard, who pants for fame,
Shall consecrate one deathless name,
And future ages tell,—
For Spartan valour here renown'd,
Where laurels shade the sacred ground,
Heroic Warren fell!

"Erewhile a Howe indignant rose,
Against his country's, freedom's foes;—
Those glorious days are past.
A coward's orders to perform,
Lo, yon sea-Alva,* rides the storm,
And drives the furious blast.

* Lord Howe.

" Though darkness all the horizon shroud,
And from the east yon thunder-cloud
Menace destruction round;
Yet Franklin, versed in Nature's laws,
From her dire womb the lightning draws,
And brings it to the ground.

" Around him Sydneys, Hampdens throng;
His ardent philosophic tongue
Can Roman zeal inspire;
The Amphyctyon council, hand in hand,
Like the immortal Theban band,
Catch its electric fire.

" Can fleets or troops such spirits tame,
Although they view their cities flame,
And desolate their coast?
'Midst distant wilds they 'll find a home,
Far as the untamed Indians roam,
And *freedom's luxury* boast.*

" Midst the snow-storm † yon hero ‡ shines,
Pierces your barrier, breaks your lines,
With splendor marks his days;
He falls, the soldier, patriot, sage!
His name illumes th' historic page,
Crown'd with immortal praise.

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* An allusion to the words of the "Address of the twelve United Provinces to the Inhabitants of Great Britain:"—"We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want—*the luxury of being free.*"

† The account of the attack on Quebec, published by the Congress, said, "When everything was prepared, the general waited the opportunity of a snow-storm to carry his design into execution, —being obliged to take a circuit, the signal for the attack was given, and the garrison alarmed before he reached the place; however, pressing on, he forced the first barrier, and was just opening to attempt the second, when he was unfortunately killed."

‡ General Montgomery, who was slain in the attack on Quebec.

" Brighten the chain, the wampum tie,
Those painted chiefs raise war's fell cry,
And hail the festive hour;
The Congress binds the savage race,
As Heaven's own æther rules through space,
Arm'd with attraction's power.

" Canadians scorn your vile behest,*
Indignant passions fire each breast,
And freedom's banner waves;
Whole years they felt her flame divine;
Its cheering light can they resign,
And sink again to slaves?

" No more will kings court Britain's smiles,
No longer dread this Queen of Isles,
No more her virtues charm;
See her pursue th' ignoble strife
By the dire Indian's scalping-knife,
And by the bravo's arm.

" Vain France, and Spain's vindictive power,
Exulting, wait the auspicious hour
To spread war's dire alarms,—
No more our fleets triumphant ride;
This isle of bliss, with all her pride,
May feel the Bourbon arms.

" America, with just disdain,
Will break degenerate Britain's chain,
And gloriously aspire;
I see new Lockes and Camdens rise,
Whilst other Newtons read the skies,
And Miltons wake the lyre.

" Behold her blazing flag unfurl'd,
To awe and rule the western world,
And teach presumptuous kings,
Though lull'd by servile flattery's dream,
The people are alone supreme,
From whom dominion springs!

* The Canada, or lawyer's bill, as it was called, the work of Lord Mansfield.

" Heaven's choicest gifts enrich her plain,
The red'ning orange, swelling grain,
Her genial suns refine;
For her the silken insects toil,
The olive teems with floods of oil,
And glows the purple vine!

" Her prowess Albion's empire shakes;
Her cataracts, her ocean'd lakes,
Display great Nature's hand;
And Europe sees, with dread surprise,
Æthereal tow'ring spirits rise
To rule the won'drous land!

" Bold Emulation stands confest;
Through the firm chief's and yeoman's breast
The heroic passion runs;
Imperial spirits claim their place!
No venal honours lift the base,
When Nature ranks her sons!

" Lo, Britain's ancient genius flies
Where commerce, arts, and science rise,
And war's dire horrors cease;
Exulting millions crowd her plains,
Escaped from Europe's galling chains
To liberty and peace!"

In the beginning of November, 1775, the Duke of Grafton, disagreeing with his colleagues, was dismissed from the ministry, and joined the opposition. This was followed by other changes in the cabinet, the most important of which was the appointment of the unpopular Lord George Germaine (the Lord George Sackville of Minden notoriety) to be secretary of state for America. The war there dragged on with various vicissitudes, sometimes flattering the British government with the hope of recovering its supremacy, while at other times it promised the immediate independence

of the colonies; but the final result each year seemed more and more discouraging to the British cause. At length, on the 3rd of December, 1777, the Court was thunderstruck with the disastrous intelligence of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, on the 17th of October. The opposition could hardly conceal their exultations; the disgrace and loss which had fallen on the British arms were exaggerated, and chanted about the streets in doggerel ballads. An "Ode on the Success of his Majesty's Arms," written in December and printed in the *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, celebrates, ironically, the glorious results of the campaign, and the skill and prudence of the ministers at home, and ends with a congratulation on the old tale of King George's mechanical amusements:—

> "Then shall my lofty numbers tell,
> Who taught the royal babes to spell,
> And sovereign arts pursue;
> To mend a watch, or set a clock,
> New patterns shape for Hervey's frock,
> Or buttons make at Kew."

In Parliament, the opposition burst into a violent storm; they reproached ministers with the imbecility of their measures, and laid all the faults and disasters on Lord George Germaine, with whom they were said to have originated. The thunder of Chatham's eloquence was again heard in the House of Lords, undiminished in force; and Burke, Fox, and Barré overwhelmed the ministerial organs in the House of Commons. A new ground of complaint against the manner of conducting the war had now presented itself in the employment of the American Indians in the British army,

whose cruel ravages on former occasions were still remembered with feelings of horror. It does not appear that the Indians now employed in the British army had committed any serious disorder; but the opposition not only saw them burning and massacring the King's own subjects—men whose veins flowed with English blood—but they conjured up fearful pictures of cannibalism; and in a caricature (in the collection of Mr. Burke) entitled, "The

THE ALLIES.

Allies—*par nobile fratrum*," King George, whose private will, it was universally believed, governed in the cabinet, was represented in close league with his savage ally, gnawing the remains of the revolting feast.

Lord Chatham directed all the movements of the opposition on this important question. Indignation at the way in which the American war was misconducted seemed alone to keep the veteran statesman alive. Whenever there was to be an attack upon the ministers on that subject, he was carried into the house, wrapped up in flannels, and supported on crutches, and he rose up like a ghost from the grave to thunder forth his condemnation of the past, and his warning for the future. On these occasions he seemed suddenly animated with the full vigour of his

youth. General Burgoyne, liberated on his parole, had now returned to take his place in the ranks of the opposition in the House of Commons, of which he was a member; and he was said to be a better debater than a general; it was, indeed, commonly reported, that his appointment to the command of the army in America was a mere stratagem of the ministry to get him away from his place in the house. When he made his re-appearance there, in the month of March, 1778, he declared his willingness to undergo any kind of trial, and threw the blame of the failure of the expedition on the secretary for America, Lord George Germaine. A grand debate was expected in the House of Lords on the 5th of April; and then Chatham was again in his place, but he looked more like a man that was come there to die, than one who would take any part in the political passions which agitated his country. There had been a division in the ranks of the opposition, and some now believing that the reduction of the colonies to obedience was hopeless, advocated the immediate acknowledgment of their independence. Chatham arose, and, held up by two of his friends, spoke with eloquence and indignation against the threatened separation of the colonies from the mother-country. When he had resumed his seat, the Duke of Richmond, who represented that portion of the opposition which now looked upon that separation as inevitable, spoke against him, and when he

GENERAL BURGOYNE.

had ended, Lord Chatham rose to reply. But, overpowered by his feelings, his strength failed him, and the orator fell back into the arms of his friends, and was carried out of the house in a state of insensibility. He was taken next day to his seat at Hayes in Kent, where, after lingering a little more than a month, he died on the 11th of May, at the age of seventy years.

At this very moment secret negotiations were going on between the American colonies and France to obtain the assistance of the latter country against England. The former had already received indirect encouragement, and it appears to have been only the reluctance of Spain, which had such extensive colonies of its own in the other hemisphere, to join with France, that hindered an open acknowledgment of American independence. By the month of June, the English government was fully informed that a treaty had been concluded between the rebellious colonies and the French King, and a fleet was immediately sent out to watch the French coasts,

ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

under Admiral Keppel,*, another active member of the opposition, whom the Court was glad to remove from his place in the House of Commons.

* The portraits of Admiral Keppel and that of General Burgoyne, given above, with others in this chapter, are taken from the series published by the caricaturist Sayer in 1782.

Keppel at once commenced hostilities, and after making two or three small captures, he discovered that a large French fleet was at Brest, ready to put to sea. He immediately returned to Portsmouth for reinforcements. On the 9th of July both fleets put to sea, Keppel's forces being considerably inferior to those of the French under the Count d'Orvilliers. The two fleets came in sight of each other on the 23rd, but the French being unwilling to fight, and having the advantage of the wind, Keppel could not engage them till the 27th, when a dark squall brought them close together off Ushant; then the order was given for engaging, and a furious cannonade was kept up for full two hours as the fleets ran past each other, in which the French lost many men, and the English ships sustained considerable damage in their rigging, especially the division under Sir Hugh Palliser. When Keppel attempted to renew the engagement, Palliser was unable or unwilling to obey the signal, and the delay thus occasioned enabled the French fleet to escape.

This action led to events that again raised up the mob of the metropolis, which, not many months afterwards, was urged into acts of violence of a more serious character than any of which a London mob had been previously guilty. In his official dispatches, Keppel had generously screened Sir Hugh Palliser from blame in not having seconded him properly in pursuing the enemy. It has already been hinted that Keppel, as one of the opposition, was an object of aversion at Court; while Palliser, "that black man," as Horace Walpole styles him, was not only in favour at Court, but one of the lords of the Admiralty. Rumours had gone abroad, and letters had appeared in the news-

papers, which were less sparing of Palliser's character than his superior officer had been; whereupon Sir Hugh wrote a letter in vindication, and demanded of Admiral Keppel an authentication of all his statements, which the latter declined to give. The subject was brought before the House of Commons at the beginning of December, and led to a rather angry debate, in which Palliser charged his superior officer with misconduct. The Court seized on this question in the hope that they would be able to crush Admiral Keppel, and the Admiralty ordered him to be brought to trial before a court-martial; a proceeding which gave great dissatisfaction to the officers of the navy in general, and which was indignantly condemned by the popular party. The trial began at Portsmouth on the 7th of January 1779, and lasted thirty-two days; the result, which was an honourable acquittal of Keppel, was made known on the 11th of February. The mob of London, which had been all along in a state of agitation, waited impatiently for this intelligence, and, when it arrived, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, the popular exultation knew no bounds, and, between joy at the event, and fear of the populace, every house in London is said to have been illuminated before eleven. The houses of Lord North and Lord George Germaine were attacked, and the windows broken. The windows of the Admiralty were also broken, and the large gate forced off its hinges; besides other violence. The effigy of Sir Hugh Palliser was hanged and burnt in various parts of the town. His house in Pall Mall was protected by a strong body of soldiers till after midnight; but, they having been then wholly or partially withdrawn, the mob burst in, and carried all the furniture into St. James's Square,

where they burnt it. Young men of rank gave encouragement to, and even joined with, the populace. Mr. Pitt, who began his political life in the ranks of the popular party, is said to have assisted in breaking windows, and the young Duke of Ancaster was taken among the rioters, and passed the night in the watch-house. The next day was one of triumph to Keppel: the city of London voted him its freedom, to be presented in a box made of heart-of-oak, richly ornamented, and votes of thanks to the admiral were passed in both houses of Parliament. Another general illumination took place the following night, but with less rioting. Palliser resigned his seat at the Admiralty board, and vacated his seat in the House of Commons; and he also was brought to trial before a court-martial; but the influence of the Court is said to have been exerted to save him from a severe sentence. From this moment the King looked upon Admiral Keppel as a personal enemy, and it is said that at the subsequent elections the influence of the Castle was used in the most undisguised manner to hinder his reelection to represent the borough of Windsor.

The attempt at individual persecution had by no means increased the strength of the ministry; Keppel's triumph led to a violent attack on the board of Admiralty, and especially on the first lord, Lord Sandwich; and the cabinet was not a little embarrassed by the united attacks of naval and military commanders, including among the latter the two commanders in the American war, Generals Burgoyne and Howe, who now stood forth with the opposition, and laid all the misfortunes in America to the charge of ministerial imbecility. The King of France was now

at open war with us, and the summer of 1779 brought the King of Spain into the hostile confederacy. A popular song of the Americans long afterwards continued to speak of Louis XVI., as a mark of their gratitude for the assistance thus bestowed, by the title of the "patriot" King:—

"Let us in rapture sing,
Of Louis the patriot King,
Virtue's support:
Who with unshaken zeal
Aided our common weal,
And fixed friendship's seal
To the New World."

The two monarchs derived in the sequel little advantage from this war, into which they had entered unprovoked; and it may be doubted if it was of any great benefit to the Americans. Although the final independence of the American colonies was a thing which everybody now foresaw, the campaigns of 1779 and 1780 were not favourable to their cause.

Amid the incessant attacks to which its foreign policy exposed it, the North administration was gradually losing its strength. Some of its own supporters began to feel that the weight of increasing taxation was hardly compensated by any advantages gained by the extravagant expenditure which called for it; others began to desert it merely because the opposition was gaining force, and promised ere long to be the surest way to place; and thus its numerical majority in the House of Commons became daily less. Towards the end of June 1779, when an open rupture had taken place with France and Spain, and the friendship of Holland was already doubtful, appeared

a rather boldly executed caricature, representing "Britain's State Pilot foundering on Taxation Rock,

BRITAIN'S STATE PILOT.

to the great amusement of Lewis Baboon, Don Strut, and Nic Frog." These three personages (the frog emblematical of the Dutchman) are looking on in mockery, while North, in the character of the sloth, (he was remarkable for his laziness,) is piloting Britannia's boat, which, its sail torn from its hold by the wind, is striking on the fatal rock. At the mast-head is the unpopular thistle, the influence under which it was pretended the state boat sailed; for Bute still presented an object of apprehension. In allusion to this, the engraving bears the inscription "Stuart pinxit—Yanky fecit." A few months later, (December 1779,) in a caricature, entitled "The Botching Tailor cutting his cloth to cover a button," King George is again accompanied by his Scottish assistant, cutting up his cloth (the United Kingdom), while Lord North and his cabinet are looking on. Under

the stall, are the Bill of Rights, Magna Charta, Remonstrances, &c. cut into shreds and thrown away.

THE BOTCHING TAILOR.

The walls of the tailor's shop are ornamented (as was usual) with broadside ballads, on one of which we read the title, "Taxation no Tyranny, a new song, as sung at the Theatre Royal; the words by Jocky Stewart." Another is entitled "The Button-maker's downfall; or, Ruin to Old England; to the tune of Britons Strike Home;" a third proclaims the virtues of "Dr. Cromwell's effectual and only remedy for the king's evil;" and at the foot of the fourth, which contains a parody on "The Highland Laddie," is seen the popular emblem of the boot. A picture suspended behind, is a parody on the flight into Egypt, and represents the King and his family making a hasty exit on their way "to Hanover." Between the dates of these two caricatures, there had been one or two resignations in the cabinet, which shewed that even among the ministers there was not entire unanimity. Lord Gower, who had resigned the presidency of the council, declared, in his first speech in the ranks of the opposition at the end of November, that "he had seen such things pass of late at the council-table, that no man of honour or conscience could any longer sit there."

The unusually large expenditure of the last few years, and the consequent increase of the national debt, and of the taxation of the country, began now to excite loud complaints, and associations were formed throughout England, with the object of opposing the extravagance of the government, and obtaining a reform in the parliamentary representation, the corruptions of which, people began to look upon as one of the principal causes of the evils under which they suffered. But these complaints were rather suddenly interrupted by a new subject of excitement, which led to fearful scenes of violence in the metropolis. For some time the dread of popery had been gaining ground, excited in some degree by the outcries of those who were opposed to the question of Catholic emancipation, which was now beginning to be agitated. Some bigoted people were even weak enough to believe that King George himself had a leaning towards the Church of Rome. This was especially the case in Scotland, where there had been serious no-popery riots in the beginning of 1779. It was a Scottish madman, the notorious Lord George Gordon, whom Walpole designates as "the Jack of Leyden of the age," who led the cry in England, and who had placed himself at the head of what was called the Protestant Association. After having troubled the House of Commons with inflammatory speeches during the whole of this session, Lord George gave notice on the 26th of May, 1780, of his intention on the 2nd of June to present a petition against toleration of Roman Catholics, signed by above a hundred thousand men, who were all to accompany him in procession to the House. We are told that the only precaution taken against the threatened mob was an

order of the privy council on the previous day, empowering the first lord of the Treasury to give proper orders to the civil magistrates to keep the peace, which the first lord of the Treasury forgot to put into effect.

On Friday, the 2nd of June, an immense multitude assembled in St. George's Fields, where Lord George addressed them in an inflammatory style, and then they marched in procession, six abreast, over London Bridge and through the city to Old Palace Yard, where they behaved in a most riotous manner. Many members of both houses were ill-treated, and one or two narrowly escaped with their lives. The confusion within doors, especially in the House of Lords, was very great; the Lords broke up without coming to any resolution, and made their escape. The House of Commons behaved with more firmness. But it was not till late in the evening that the mob was prevailed upon to disperse. In their way home, they attacked and burnt two Catholic chapels, that of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick Street, Golden Square, and that of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The mob assembled again on the night of Saturday, in the neighbourhood of Moorfields, and continued during the night to molest the Catholics who inhabited that part of London. Some military were ordered to the spot on Sunday morning, but no efficient measures were taken to suppress the rioters, and on Monday morning, when there was a drawing-room for the King's birthday, the disturbances had become much more serious. Under the cry of "No Popery," all the worst part of the population of the metropolis had now collected together, and London was entirely in their power during

the rest of the day and the whole of the following night. Early on Monday morning they robbed and burnt the house of Sir George Saville, in Leicester Fields, because he had been the prime mover of a proposed act for shewing religious tolerance towards the Catholics. Several chapels and some private houses were plundered and destroyed, and fires were seen in various parts of the town. Both houses met, but some of the members were attacked on their way, and Lord Sandwich fell into the hands of the populace, and was with difficulty torn from them after he had been severely hurt. The House of Lords adjourned immediately, but in the Commons there were hot debates, and several strong resolutions were passed. As evening approached, the mob, which had increased, and consisted now of all the lowest rabble of London, rushed to Newgate, set fire to the prison, which was entirely destroyed, and liberated all the criminals. These joined the rioters, who now became more ferocious, and went about ravaging and plundering in the most fearful manner. A print of the time has given us a characteristic portrait of these would-be religious reformers.* The new prison at Clerkenwell was also broken into, and the prisoners set at liberty. They next attacked and plundered the house of Sir John Fielding, the police magistrate, and they burnt down the house of Lord

A MOB REFORMER.

* He is in the act of shouting, "Down with the Bank!" The print is entitled "No Popery, or Newgate Reformers."

Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square, destroying in it, among other things, a valuable library of ancient manuscripts. All day on Tuesday, and through Tuesday night, the populace went about robbing and burning, and drinking,—and this latter occupation only added to their fury. On Wednesday, the King's Bench, the Fleet, and the other prisons were burnt, and two attacks were made on the Bank of England, but the assailants were driven back with great loss by the soldiers who guarded that important building. Various other public buildings were marked for destruction. People now, however, began to recover from their panic, and voluntarily armed in defence of their property, and troops, as well of the regulars as of the militia, were pouring into London; yet during the Wednesday night the town was on fire in no less than thirty-six places, and the destruction of property was immense. On Thursday, the 8th of June, after many had been killed by the soldiery, and a still greater number had perished through intoxication in the burning houses, tranquillity was restored, and the capital was saved from the hands of a mob which seemed at one moment to threaten its entire destruction. On Saturday, Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower; and he was subsequently brought to trial for high-treason, but was allowed to escape conviction, and he eventually shewed sufficient proofs of mental derangement.

These dreadful riots had been allowed at first to gain head entirely by the culpable negligence and pusillanimity of the civil authorities, who seem to have lost all presence of mind; and by a want of foresight on the part of the government. The conduct of the city rulers, with the exception of Wilkes, had been especially disgraceful, and the lord-mayor was punished

for his cowardice. A few coarse and not well executed caricatures, and some ballads and songs, held them up to public ridicule and indignation. Lord Amherst who, after Wolfe's death, obtained the credit of conquering Canada from the French, and who was now a courtier, an active man in the politics of the day, directed the military operations against the rioters, and became unpopular for his severity.* He was made the butt of a considerable number of caricatures, in one of which he is represented as killing geese, and, in allusion to some threat which he had uttered, he is made to declare, "If I had power, I 'd kill twenty in an hour." The King, as we have already seen, was openly stigmatized as being a Catholic at heart. A caricature, published at this time, and entitled "A great man at his private devotions," represents him kneeling before an altar, and wearing the dress of a monk, embroidered with the words "The holy Roman Catholic faith;" a crucifix stands on the altar, and portraits of Boreas and Jemmy Twitcher decorate the walls of his private chapel. A picture of the pope hangs above an open door, and petitions from Surrey and Middlesex lie within it as waste paper. A print of Martin Luther drops in neglected fragments from the wall. Burke, as the great advocate of Catholic emancipation, was especially odious to the fanatical party; and he obtained on this occasion

LORD AMHERST.

* This caricature portrait of Lord Amherst is taken from the series by Sayer.

the character which was so often afterwards applied to him, of being a concealed Jesuit.

The "No Popery!" cry was coupled with new apprehensions (though not very generally felt) of the Pretender, at whose return the imaginary Scottish influence was supposed now to aim. I have already mentioned a caricature in which this is slightly alluded to. In another caricature published this year, under the title of "Argus," King George is lulled into a profound slumber, while some cunning plunderers are stealing his sceptre, and others, apparently Scotchmen, are cautiously lifting the crown. One of them, in a plaid and bonnet (Bute), asks of another, in a large wig and ermined robe, "What shall be done with it?" the reply is "Wear it yoursel', my laird." But another of the party exclaims, "No, troth, I'se carry it to Charley, and he'll not part with it again." A miserable figure in rags on the opposite side, supposed to be a personification of the English community, clasps his hands, and cries, "I have let them quietly strip me of everything." An Irishman, departing, protests "that he will take care of himself and family." An American, leering upon the dozing sovereign, says, "We in America have no *crown* to fight for or lose." Behind the hedge which forms the background, a Dutchman feeds upon honey, during the absence of the bees from their hives. In one corner Britannia sits weep-

BRITANNIA IN SORROW.

ing, and her lion reposes in chains close to a map of Great Britain, from which America is torn.

The strength of the administration was evidently in a rapid decline, and its popularity had not been assisted by the turbulent scenes we have just described, or by any favourable change in the prospects of the war. Before the London riots, the government had been embarrassed by a signal defeat on a question of a very significant character. The petitions crowding in from all parts of the country had already alarmed the Court; when, on the 6th of April, Mr. Dunning moved in the House of Commons his famous resolution against the overgrown influence of the Crown, which was carried against the Court, and was followed by the adoption of other motions equally unpalatable. On the 10th of April the opposition was still in the majority, and other strong resolutions against prerogative were passed. Everybody was in astonishment, and expected an immediate dissolution of the cabinet and a change of measures. A caricature on this occasion, published on the 20th of April, and entitled "Prerogative's defeat; or, Liberty's triumph," is in the collection of Mr. Hawkins; it represents the downfall of Scottish influence, while Ireland and America are both rejoicing, the latter exclaiming, "Now we will treat with them." But the ministers had had time to recover from their surprise, and an adjournment of the house to the 24th of April was employed in negotiating with those who had on this occasion deserted their ranks. On that day the ministers recovered their majorities, although they were not now very large ones. In another caricature, entitled "The Bull over-drove; or, the drivers in danger," the British bull is represented in a rage, kicking at the ministers,

one of whom (Lord George Germaine) exclaims, "This is worse than the battle of Minden!" The Kings of France and Spain stalk away, the former exclaiming, "By gar! my friend America, I must leave you; dis bull will play le diable!" the other, "I wish I was safe out of his way; he beats the bulls of Spain." America replies, "I fear, monsieur, I shall get little by your friendship."

The ill-treatment which Keppel and other liberal officers received from the Court brought unpopularity on those who were put forward by the ministry, and this often embarrassed them in their operations. Rodney had begun the year prosperously by a decisive victory over the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent on the 16th of January, which was followed by the relief of Gibraltar, now besieged by the Spaniards; but the unwillingness of his captains to obey a Tory commander deprived him, in the middle of April, of gaining a much more signal victory over the French fleet in the West Indies. The French escaped, and took shelter in a friendly harbour, and both sides boasted of the superiority. A caricature, entitled "National Discourse," published after the intelligence of these events arrived in England, represents the mutual feelings of the sailors of the two nations on this occasion; the lean and vain-glorious Frenchman's taunt, "Ha, ha, we

NATIONAL DISCOURSE.

beata you!" receives from the sturdy Englishman the somewhat unpolite reply, "You lie!" Rodney's miscarriage led soon after to the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, and nothing but the sickness which fell upon them and weakened them, and the mutual mistrust between these two allies, saved our West Indian islands from conquest. The close of this year saw Holland openly added to the number of our enemies. In America the events of the war continued to be in general discouraging to the colonists, until the latter part of the year 1781, when it suddenly took a decided turn to their disadvantage, and the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army may be looked upon as having left no longer any doubt in people's minds as to what must be the final result.

At the beginning of the year (on the 17th of January, 1781), when the prospects of the British arms in America seemed to be in the highest degree promising, a caricature was published, representing Britannia and her enemies weighed in the balance. America is seated in one scale in an attitude of sorrow, sighing forth the unwilling avowal, "My ingratitude is justly punished." The Spaniard and the Frenchman stand in the scale with her, and the

A LIGHT COMPANY.

Dutchman is hanging on with his whole weight in the effort to pull it down. The first of these exclaims, "Rodney has ruined our fleet!" The Frenchman addresses himself to their new ally the Dutchman, "Mynheer, assist, or we are ruined;" and receives for reply, "I'll do anything for money." But the Dutchman is a loser, apparently unknown to himself, for his money is falling from his pocket, with papers inscribed, "Demerara," "Essequibo," "St. Eustatia," "St. Martin," and other colonies which had fallen into the hands of the British. In spite of their exertions, Britannia, standing alone in the other scale, is outweighing them all; she holds a drawn sword, inscribed "Justice," in her hand, and exclaims, "No one injures me with impunity." Other caricatures, marking the popular exultation, appeared about the same time.

In the general elections in the autumn of 1780, the ministerial majority was not as usual (and, perhaps, as was expected), increased. The opposition, feeling its strength, commenced a resolute attack on the ministry, criticising its measures abroad and at home, and exaggerating its errors, and the consequences that resulted from them. They fell first upon Lord Sandwich, and brought forward the old grievance relating to Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, the latter of whom had been rewarded with the governorship of

LORD SANDWICH.

Greenwich Hospital. They next entered upon the alleged ill-management of the navy, and complained that it had been deprived of some of its ablest officers in a time of great danger, by the political partialities of the Court. After Christmas, they returned to the charge, and accused the ministers with having unnecessarily driven this country into a war with Holland. The charge of mismanagement of the navy was then renewed. Burke next brought forward a motion for economical reform, with a view also to a reform in the representation of the country, founded on the petitions of the different political associations now formed throughout England; he was supported by the whole force of the eloquence of the opposition, and the debate, on the second reading of his bill, on the 26th of February, 1781, brought on his legs, for the first time in the house, young William Pitt, the second son of the great Earl of Chatham, who entered the political arena as a disciple of Charles Fox. Sheridan and Wilberforce also made their first speeches on this occasion, as zealous members of the opposition. The next subject of attack was Lord North's financial arrangements. Through all these attacks, and many more which followed, the ministers were supported by the encouraging accounts of the success of our arms in America and other parts; but in the autumn even this prop began to give way, and when, on the 25th of November, the news of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army arrived, they were filled with dismay. Parliament opened two days afterwards, and the debates occasioned by this disaster were violent in the extreme; and, until the Christmas recess, the house was almost entirely occupied with the American war, and the state of the navy. In the midst of this war-

fare of words, young William Pitt was rising daily into distinction.

After Christmas, the war between the opposition and the ministry was renewed with increased vigour. Lord Sandwich was again the first object of attack. Charles Fox moved for an inquiry into the causes of the constant ill success of our naval forces, and a bitter declamation was made on the improvidence of the Admiralty, and on the narrow policy which had deprived our ships of some of their best commanders, such as Keppel, Howe, and others, because their political opinions were not agreeable at Court. Ministers agreed to the inquiry, and there was no division; but in a motion for a vote of censure on the Admiralty board, a few days after, the ministerial majority was only twenty-two. After the arrival of the news of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, most people began to look forward to a total change in the cabinet as not far distant; and the venal supporters of the Court in the House of Commons were already beginning to desert, to join those who were likely to succeed to power. On the 20th of February, Fox renewed the attack on Lord Sandwich, and the ministerial majority was reduced to nineteen.

It was evident that the affairs of America would not long be allowed to remain untouched, and, at the beginning of February, Lord George Germaine had been allowed to resign the colonial secretaryship, and as a reward for his staunch support of the King's policy, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Sackville. On the 22nd of February General Conway moved for an address to the King, praying him to put an end to the American war; and on this occasion, after a long and warm debate, the

ministerial majority was only one. Still, however, North did not resign, but on the 25th of February he calmly brought forward his budget. The opposition was furious, and attacked his ways of raising money in the most violent terms. Some new taxes proposed on this occasion were very unpopular out of doors, especially one on soap, which was made the subject of a host of ballads and caricatures, that continued to be hawked about long after North's ministry had fallen. In these the premier was ridiculed under the title of "Soap-suds," the political "Washerwoman," and a variety of other similar appellations. It was pretended that people would now have to learn to wash without soap; and in one of the caricatures, entitled "The M-n-s-r reduced; or, Sir Oliver Blubber in his proper station," the new washerwoman is occupied, as it appears, in this experiment, for, on the wall behind is the notice, "Linen wash'd 50 per cent. cheaper than at any other place in London, by Mary North, author of the treatise upon washing without soap, and many other ingenious performances." At a window before the portly figure of the metamorphosed minister, two washerwomen of the old practice are looking in at his work and laughing.

THE WASHERWOMAN.

Two days after the announcement of the budget, on the 27th of February, General Conway made a new motion for an address for pacification with America,

when, after another warm debate, ministers were in a minority of nineteen. When this was known next day, the town was filled with manifestations of joy; many houses were illuminated in the evening, and papers were cried about the streets announcing "Good news for England! Lord North in the dumps, and peace with America!" The King returned rather an evasive answer to the address, on which the ministers, instead of retiring, as it was expected they would do, proposed to bring forward some half measures, with the hope of appeasing the opposition. The latter now raised a loud cry against the obstinacy with which Lord North clung to his place, and Charles Fox in particular, whose unfortunate love of dissipation and gambling had reduced him to necessitous circumstances,* could hardly conceal his eagerness to get the ministers out, that he might share in the spoils. On the 8th of March, Lord John Cavendish again brought forward the question of American mismanagement, and moved a direct vote of censure on the English

* Fox, as we learn from various sources, was at this time in great pecuniary difficulties. Towards the end of May 1781, Walpole writes, "As I came up St. James's Street, I saw a cart and porters at Charles's door; coppers and old chests of drawers loading. In short, his success at Faro had awakened his host of creditors; but unless his bank had been swelled to the size of the Bank of England, it could not have yielded a sop for each. Epsom, too, had been unpropitious, and one creditor had actually seized and carried off his goods, which did not seem worth removing. As I returned full of this scene, whom should I find sauntering by my own door but Charles. He came up and talked to me at the coach-window, on the Marriage Bill, with as much *sangfroid* as if he knew nothing of what had happened. I have no admiration for insensibility to one's own faults, especially when committed out of vanity. Perhaps the whole philosophy consists in the commission. The more marvellous Fox's parts are, the more one is provoked at his follies, which comfort so many rascals and blockheads, and make all that is admirable and amiable in him only matter of regret to those who like him, as I do."

ministry; the latter on this occasion had a majority of ten. On the 15th, Sir John Rouse made a new and still more direct attack, in a motion declaring that the house no longer placed confidence in the present ministers, whose majority was now only nine. Lord Surrey immediately gave notice that he should bring forward another motion to the same effect on the 20th; but when that day came, the debate was prevented by Lord North's announcement to the house of the resignation of ministers.

The tenacity with which Lord North apparently clung to office through so many defeats was generally attributed, and in all probability with justice, to the King's unwillingness to accept his resignation. It was widely believed that the King's will had for some time been the rule according to which his ministers shaped their measures, and that he shewed the greatest reluctance to admitting to any share in the government of the country those who were not "his friends." Most of the leaders of the liberal party were to him objects of personal animosity.

The opposition itself, since Lord Chatham's death, had become more clearly divided into two sections, one of which acknowledged Lord Rockingham for its leader, whilst the other was ranged under the banners of Lord Shelburne; the former numbered in its ranks Charles Fox, Edmund Burke, and Admiral Keppel, while with Lord Shelburne were Colonel Barré and the young and aspiring William Pitt. The rivalry of these two parties was at present rather personal than founded on any especial principle; but the King had less repugnance to the Shelburne party, because they still shared in Chatham's objections to acknowledging the independence of the Americans; while

the Rockingham party insisted that the time was now come when peace must be made with the Americans at any rate, and they called for the sacrifice of all claims to supremacy on the part of the mother-country. The King is said to have tried to negotiate privately with Lord Shelburne; but, the only leader under whom the whole opposition could be brought to serve being Lord Rockingham, he was sent for, and he undertook the task of forming a new cabinet. The only one of the old ministers whom the King was allowed to retain was the lord-chancellor Thurlow, and he remained but as a thorn in the sides of his colleagues, for he was never prevailed upon to act cordially with them. It appears, that, even at last, the negotiations between the King and Lord Rockingham were carried on in great part by the mediation of Lord Shelburne, which increased the jealous feelings of the more liberal party towards the latter. The new ministers were, Lord Rockingham as first lord of the Treasury; the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; Lord Thurlow, chancellor; the Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the Exchequer; Admiral Keppel, created a viscount, first lord of the Admiralty; General Conway, commander-in-chief; the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the Ordnance; and Dunning, now created Baron Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Burke, without a seat in the cabinet, was made pay-master; Colonel Barré, treasurer of the Navy; William Pitt, who refused to take a subordinate place, was allowed to stand aloof, and was evidently looking forward to greater things. Three conditions had been insisted upon in forming the new

administration, and had been conceded by the King; they were, 1. peace with the Americans, and the acknowledgment of their independence; 2. a substantial reform in the civil-list expenditures; and 3. the diminution of the influence of the Crown.

The ministers proceeded immediately to carry out their projected reforms, and evidently with good-will, but that they were not especially palatable to the King was sufficiently clear from the constant opposition they received from the Chancellor Thurlow, with whom Fox had expressed great reluctance to take office. Keppel brought at least new vigour into the Admiralty department; and many of the old veteran officers, who had resigned after Keppel's trial, were restored to the service. Rodney, a staunch Tory, who had not yet performed what was expected from him with the fleet in the West Indies, was recalled, and Admiral Pigot was sent out to supersede him. Rodney was at this time so little popular in England, that his constituents in Westminster, which he represented in Parliament, had declared their intention of nominating Mr. Pitt in his place for the next election. The position of England at this moment was discouraging on every side; and our enemies, both in America and in Europe, refused to treat except on humiliating conditions. In the midst of these embarrassments, on the 18th of May, the whole country was struck with astonishment, and thrown into what has been described as "a delirium of joy," by the arrival of the news of the glorious victory of the 12th of April gained by Rodney over the French admiral De Grasse, which in one day restored England to the sovereignty of the ocean. The English ministers, who had blamed so much all the naval schemes and operations of their

predecessors, were much embarrassed by this success, the honour of which really belonged to Lord North, and by their own proceedings with regard to Rodney. An express was sent to prevent Admiral Pigot sailing, but it was too late. A cold vote of thanks was given by both houses to the victorious Rodney, and he was raised to the peerage, but only as a baron, and was voted a pension of but 2,000*l.* a-year. Such were the effects of the violence of political faction in this country under George III. The other officers received honours and rewards in different degrees.

The popular rejoicings on Rodney's victory turned less against the ministry than might have been expected, but they were attacked with vigour by their predecessors, who were now in the opposition, and they were glad to make the best excuses they could. Those sure concomitants of a struggle of parties in this country, the caricatures, had already been launched against them, and Rodney's successes furnished abundant materials. One of these, entitled, "Rodney introducing De Grasse," published on the 7th of June, represents the conqueror presenting his illustrious captive at the foot of the throne. On one side of the sovereign stands Ad-

RODNEY AND DE GRASSE.

miral Keppel; on the other, Fox. The latter is represented as soliloquizing, "This fellow must be recalled; he fights too well for us; and I have obligations to Pigot, for he has lost 17,000*l.* at my faro bank." The insinuation thus conveyed against the secretary of state was to all appearance perfectly unjust. Keppel is represented as jealous of Rodney's glory; he is reading a list of the captures, among which we can distinguish the name of the Ville-de-Paris (De Grasse's ship), and he observes, "This is the very ship I ought to have taken on the 27th of July." Another caricature, published on the 13th of June, is entitled "St. George and the Dragon." St. George (Sir George Rodney) is overcoming a mighty dragon, and forcing it to disgorge a quantity of frogs (perhaps an allusion to the Dutch). King George is running towards him with the reward of a baron's coronet, and exclaims (in allusion to Rodney's recall and elevation to the peerage), "Hold, my dear Rodney, you have done enough! I will now make a lord of you, and you shall have the happiness of never being heard of again." These two prints are reckoned to be the first attempts of the celebrated Gillray, whom we shall soon find for many years almost monopolizing, by his remarkable talent, this branch of art.

REWARD.

The somewhat sudden death of the Marquis of Rockingham, on the 1st of July, brought on quite unexpectedly a new ministerial crisis. It was soon known that the King, who always preferred commu-

nicating with Lord Shelburne, intended to place him at the head of the ministry. The Rockingham party, and more especially Fox and Burke, (the former was accused by his opponents of aiming at the place himself,) held a meeting, and most of them determined to resign. Fox had already complained that he was in a situation where he was thwarted in his principles by a superior power, and, although in a position of great pecuniary difficulty, he refused under any condition to act in a ministry of which Lord Shelburne was head. He was followed by Burke, Lord John Cavendish, John Townshend, and others. Colonel Barré took Burke's place, and was himself succeeded by Dundas; Thomas Townshend succeeded Fox as foreign secretary; and William Pitt was raised to the post of chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of Lord John Cavendish. Thus began the Shelburne administration, with no great hopes of success, for it was notoriously weak in parliamentary influence.

LORD SHELBURNE.

These changes led to acrimonious recriminations in the House of Commons,. in which Pitt shewed the commencement of his future hostility towards Fox. The King is said to have received the resignation of the latter with unconcealed satisfaction; all kinds of abuse were thrown upon Fox and Burke out of doors, and the most selfish and factious motives were attributed to them. One of the earliest caricatures by Sayer, a large print published on the 17th of July,

and entitled "Paradise Lost," represents the unfortunate pair cast out of the gate of the ministerial paradise, which is adorned with the faces of Shelburne, Barré, and Dunning.

"To the eastern side
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Waved over by that flaming brand, the Gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms!
Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon.
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and providence their guide.
They, arm in arm, with wand'ring steps, and slow,
Thro' Eden took their solitary way."

Dunning and Barré had both received pensions through Lord Shelburne, the latter upwards of 3,000*l.* a-year, and they were naturally among his most staunch supporters. The large pension given to Colonel Barré, for no apparent services to the state, was made the subject of loud and bitter complaints by the Tories, who compared it with the smaller reward which had been doled out to Rodney for one of the most glorious victories of the age. Another large print by Sayer, published on the 24th of August, under the title of "*Date obolum Belisario,*" represents the colonel receiving his pension from Lord Shelburne at the Treasury door.

"Rome's veteran fought her rebel foes,
And thrice her empire saved;
Yet through her streets, bow'd down with woes,
An humble pittance craved.

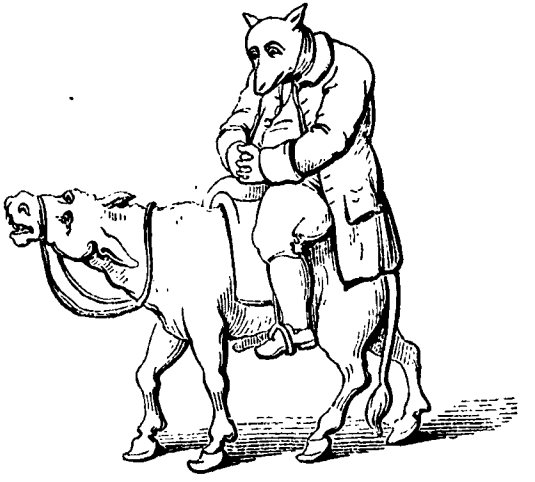
"Our soldier fought a better fight,
Political contention;
And grateful ministers requite
His service with a pension."

One of the few efforts of Gillray at this early period of his career, related to these hostilities of faction, and was aimed against Fox, who is represented in a parody on Milton's Satan, envious of the happy pair, Shelburne and Pitt, who are counting their money on the Treasury table.

ENVY.

"Aside he turned
For envy, yet with jealous leer
Eyed them askance." [malign

These are but a small portion of the caricatures of which Fox and his friend were now made the butt. In one, the discomfited ex-secretary of state is seen under the character of



AHITHOPHEL IN THE DUMPS.

"Ahithophel in the dumps," riding away dolefully on his mule towards a gallows and block. In another,

Fox and his staunch supporter Burke, are placed in the stocks as personifications of Hudibras and his squire.

HUDIBRAS AND HIS SQUIRE.

The Parliament, however, was prorogued on the 11th of July, and the summer and autumn were occupied in fruitless negotiations to secure a majority for the Shelburne cabinet in the ensuing session. Their apprehensions were so great, that, as the time for the opening of Parliament approached, Pitt was employed in a private interview with Fox to gain him over to the ministry, but he persisted in his resolution of not taking office under Lord Shelburne.

His party, indeed, now began to fear that, elated by Rodney's victory over the French fleet, Lord Shelburne, who had always been opposed to the recognition of American independence, might be induced to yield to the King in countenancing the sovereign's favourite measure of the war against America. The signal overthrow of the French navy had struck the Americans with dismay, and some of them began to despair; but they were encouraged by the conduct of Washington, and they still looked with coldness on all conciliatory advances. On this side the Atlantic, the King of Spain had risen almost to an imbecility of self-confidence in the magnitude of his preparations for the reduction of Gibraltar; and he and the King of France put forward pretensions to which the English ministry could on no conditions listen. Other successes, however, attended our fleets at sea;

and the hopes of our confederated enemies were at length entirely broken down by the wonderful defeat of the Spanish armament against Gibraltar in the grand attack on the 13th of September 1782, and by the subsequent arrival of the fleet under Lord Howe for the relief of the garrison, actions which have made the names of General Elliot and Admiral Howe immortal. All parties began now to talk with more sincerity of their desires for peace; and the signing of preliminaries, which was executed by the Americans and their European allies independent of each other, was hastened by their mutual jealousies. The independence of the United States of America was thus acknowledged; but King George acceded to the wish of his subjects on this point with a very bad grace, and his ill-humour was even shewn in the speech with which he opened his Parliament at the beginning of December. The King long detested the very name of anything American; and his personal hatred of Franklin, who had certainly been one of the least conciliating and least candid of the factious "patriots" on the other side of the water, was afterwards exhibited even in the peculiar colour given to his patronage of science and literature. It is said that Sir John Pringle was driven to resign his place as president of the Royal Society by the King's urgent request that the Royal Society should publish, with the authority of its name, a contradiction to a scientific opinion of the rebellious Franklin; the president replied, that it was not in his power to reverse the order of nature, and resigned, and Sir Joseph Banks, who, like a true courtier, advocated the opinion which was patronized by the King, succeeded him in the society's chair.

Feelings like these, long persisted in, tended to perpetuate that estrangement of interests between the mother-country and her now separated colonies, which was naturally enough generated by a long and obstinate war, which, considered from the beginning as a civil war, was accompanied with all that bitterness of animosity that usually accompanies civil contentions. The royalists and the Tories of this country, long after the contest was over, could think and speak of the Americans only as rebels; and the latter, who seemed to have adopted as their national character too much of the bullying manners and passions of the worst of the demagogues who urged them into the war, never forgave the insult which they felt to be conveyed to them by this reproachful term. They expressed their sentiments of unabating hostility in many a lampoon upon their ancient brethren in Britain. The following ballad, founded upon an incident that occurred while Philadelphia was in the hands of the royalist troops, was especially popular; and, as will be seen, particularly in the latter stanzas, expresses in a marked manner the irritation occasioned by the indiscriminate use of the term "rebel" among the officers of the British army.

THE BATTLE OF THE KEGS.

(Tune *Maggy Lawder.*)

"Gallants, attend and hear a friend
Trill forth harmonious ditty;
Strange things I 'll tell, which late befell
In Philadelphia city.

"'Twas early day, as poets say,
Just when the sun was rising,
A soldier stood on log of wood,
And saw a sight surprising.

"As in amaze, he stood to gaze,—
The truth can't be denied, sir,—
He spied a skore—of kegs, or more,
Come floating down the tide, sir.

"A sailor, too, in jerkin blue,
The strange appearance viewing,
First d—d his eyes, in great surprise,
Then said—'Some mischief's brewing.

"'These kegs now hold the rebels bold,
Packed up like pickled herring;
And they're come down t' attack the town,
In this new way of ferrying.'

"The soldier flew, the sailor too,
And, scared almost to death, sir,
Wore out their shoes, to spread the news,
And ran till out of breath, sir.

"Now up and down, throughout the town,
Most frantic scenes were acted;
And some ran here, and some ran there,
Like men almost distracted.

"Some 'fire' cried, which some denied,
But said the earth had quaked;
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran through the town half naked.

"Sir William,* he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a-snoring;
Nor dreamt of harm, as he lay warm
In bed with Mrs. L——g.

"Now, in a fright, he starts upright,
Awak'd by such a clatter;
He rubs both eyes, and boldly cries,
'For God's sake, what's the matter?'

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* Sir William Howe, who commanded in America from 1776 to 1778.

"At his bed-side he then espied
Sir Erskine* at command, sir:
Upon one foot he had one boot,
And t' other in his hand, sir.

"'Arise! arise!' Sir Erskine cries,
'The rebels—more 's the pity—
Without a boat, are all on float,
And rang'd before the city.

"'The motly crew in vessels new,
With Satan for their guide, sir,
Pack'd up in bags, or wooden kegs,
Come driving down the tide, sir.

"'Therefore prepare for bloody war:—
These kegs must all be routed,
Or surely we despis'd shall be,
And British courage doubted.'

"The royal band now ready stand,
All ranged in dread array, sir,
With stomach stout, to see it out,
And make a bloody day, sir.

"The cannons roar from shore to shore:
The small arms make a rattle:
Since wars began, I'm sure no man
E'er saw so strange a battle.

"The 'rebel' vales, the 'rebel' dales,
With 'rebel' trees surrounded,
The distant woods, the hills, and floods,
With 'rebel' echoes sounded.

"The fish below swam to and fro,
Attack'd from every quarter:
'Why sure,' thought they, 'the devil 's to pay
'Mongst folks above the water.'

"The kegs, 'tis said, though strongly made
Of 'rebel' staves and hoops, sir,
Could not oppose their powerful foes,
The conquering British troops, sir.

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* Sir W. Erskine.

"From morn to night, these men of might
Display'd amazing courage;
And when the sun was fairly down,
Retired to sup their porridge.

"A hundred men, with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, sir,
It is most true, would be too few
Their valour to record, sir.

"Such feats did they perform that day
Upon these wicked kegs, sir,
That years to come, if they get home,
They 'll make their boasts and brags, sir."

CHAPTER X.

GEORGE III.

OVERTHROW OF LORD SHELBURNE.—THE COALITION.—ATTACKS ON THE COALITION.—FOX'S INDIA BILL.—CARLO KHAN.—BACK-STAIRS INFLUENCE.—THE INTERFERENCE OF THE KING, AND DISMISSAL OF THE MINISTRY.—QUARREL BETWEEN THE CROWN AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—WILLIAM PITT PRIME MINISTER.—THE OPPOSITION IN MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE; DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—THE WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.—CARICATURES AND SQUIBS AGAINST THE DEFEATED COALITIONISTS.

THE peace put an end to the weak administration of Lord Shelburne. From the moment the leaders of the old Rockingham party separated from Shelburne, the latter was looked upon by most people as little more than a provisional minister; and young William Pitt, who had been aiming at popularity by his repeated advocacy of reform in the parliamentary representation (which was now beginning to be the watchword of a party), seems already to have been fixed in the King's mind as the minister of his choice. But William Pitt was hardly yet in the position to command a party, even though backed by the King.

Shelburne's party were evidently embarrassed by the secession of so many of the old Whigs, and they did not attempt to conceal their anger; Pitt, especially, exhibited an irritability which he was not in the habit of shewing. We have seen with what bitterness the conduct of Fox and his friends was criticised in the caricatures, which represented Fox hurled from his hopes of treasury profits to the po-

verty and wretchedness of the gambler, and Burke retiring to his supposed Jesuitical reflections in the privacy of his chamber. One of the best of those on the latter subject, published on the 23rd of August, 1782, is entitled "Cincinnatus in retirement; falsely supposed to represent *Jesuit Pad* driven back to his native potatoes." The metamorphosed orator is taking his frugal meal out of an utensil, inscribed "Relic No. 1, used by St. Peter," surrounded with various emblems of fanaticism and whiskey-drinking. Fox and Burke, in return, accused Lord Shelburne of treachery and selfishness; and these charges were re-echoed in satires which came more direct from the Tories, and attacked indiscriminately both divisions of the Whigs. Thus, in a print entitled "Guy Vaux and Judas Iscariot," Shelburne, in the latter character, is walking off with a bag inscribed "Treasury," while the Guy is detecting the traitor by the light of his lanthorn. The Fox ex-

RECRIMINATION.

claims, "Ah! what, I've found you out, have I? Who armed the high priests and the people? who betrayed his mas....?" Judas retorts, "Ha, ha! poor Gunpowder 's vexed—he, he, he! Shan't have the bag, I tell you, old Goosetooth!" With similar senti-

ments, others looked upon these rapidly changing ministries as so many parties of mischief-makers; and in one caricature, published during the present year, King George is seen slumbering on his throne, while his ministers are dispatched rather unceremoniously to a very warm habitation.

A SLUMBERING MONARCH.

As the time for the meeting of Parliament approached, people began to look with more anxiety to the position which each of the three parties that now divided it were likely to take. It was roughly estimated that the ministerial votes in the House of Commons were about a hundred and forty, that about a hundred and twenty members followed the standard of Lord North, and ninety that of Fox, the remainder being uncertain; and it was evident, under these circumstances, that Fox could give the majority in the House to either of the two parties with which he chose to join. Lord North professed moderation, and a wish to stand on neutral ground; and he did not threaten the Court with any serious attack. When Parliament met on the 5th of December, the preliminaries of the peace were made known, and the King's speech was warmly attacked by Fox and Burke, to whom a spirited reply was made by Pitt; but the opposition shewed itself but slightly till after the Christmas recess. When the House met again towards the end of January, the interval had produced a union of parties which seems to have struck most

people with surprise. The preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris on the 20th of January (1783), and their consideration in the House of Commons was fixed for the 17th of February, when the ministers moved an address of approval. The amendment, which accepted the treaty, but demanded further time to consider the terms before expressing a judgment upon them, and was evidently intended as a mere trial of strength, was moved by Lord John Cavendish. The debate which followed was long and animated, and merged into strong personalities. The famous coalition between Fox and North, which had for some days been talked of, was now openly avowed, and both parties attacked the peace with the greatest bitterness. It was observed that, during the earlier part of the debate, Fox and North spoke of each other in terms of indulgence to which they had long been strangers; and the ministerial speakers, in their reply, fell with the greatest acrimony upon what they termed the monstrous alliance between two men who had previously made such strong declarations of political hostility. Burke first spoke, in defence of the coalition; he was followed by Fox, who openly avowed it, and both he and Lord North declared that, even when they were most opposed to each other, they had regarded one another personally with mutual respect; that their great ground of enmity — the American war—being now at an end, it was time for their hostility to cease also, and that they had joined together for the good of the country. The debate was prolonged through the whole night, and it was nearly eight o'clock in the morning when, on a division, the amendment was carried by a majority of sixteen. Four days after this, on the 21st of

February, the united opposition brought forward a motion of direct censure on the terms of the treaty and on the conduct of ministers, which lasted till after four in the morning, and was carried by a majority of seventeen. The coalition was again the main subject debated; it was now defended warmly by Lord North, and bitterly attacked by Pitt, who called it "a baneful alliance" and an "ill-omened marriage," dangerous to the public safety.

This second defeat was the death-blow of the administration, and Lord Shelburne immediately resigned. The King, who literally hated Fox, and who was enraged at the coalition, made a fruitless attempt to form a ministry under Pitt. In the beginning of March, the King had several interviews with Lord North, whom he attempted to detach from his new alliance, and then he tried to form a half coalition ministry, from which Fox was to be excluded. On the 24th of March, when the country had remained more than a month without a Cabinet, an address was voted in the House of Commons almost unanimously, praying the King to form immediately such an administration as would command the confidence of the country. The King, however, remained obstinate in his personal animosities; and, on the 31st of March, another and much stronger address was moved by the Earl of Surrey; upon which Pitt, who had all this time retained his office of chancellor of the Exchequer, and whom it was evidently the King's wish to make prime minister, announced that he had that day resigned. On the 2nd of April, the King again sent for Lord North, and, through him, gave full authority to the Duke of Portland, who was considered as the head of the Rockingham party, or old

Whigs, to form an administration. The Duke of Portland himself was made first lord of the Treasury, with Lord North as secretary of State for the Home Department, and Fox as secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord John Cavendish was made chancellor of the Exchequer; Keppel, first lord of the Admiralty; Lord Stormont (the only person admitted into the Cabinet to please the King), president of the council; and the Earl of Carlisle lord privy seal. Lord Thurlow was rejected, and the great seal was put in commission, the commissioners being Lord Loughborough, Sir W. H. Ashurst, and Sir Beaumont Hotham. The other members of the ministry were, the Earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain; Viscount Townshend, master-general of the Ordnance; the Honourable Richard Fitzpatrick, secretary at war; Edmund Burke, paymaster of the forces; Charles Townshend, treasurer of the Navy; James Wallace, attorney-general; Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Richard Burke, secretaries to the Treasury; the Earl of Northington, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; William Windham, secretary for Ireland; and William Eden, who is said to have been the chief negotiator in the formation of the coalition, vice-treasurer.

There seemed to be much greater cordiality in this alliance of two parties than had been visible in any former coalition of the same kind; and, to all appearance, the new ministry might have been an efficient one, and beneficial to the country, had it not been regarded from the first with bitter dislike by the King, who took little pains to conceal his intention of getting rid of it as soon as possible. Still there was something anomalous in its character, which was far from giving general satisfaction, and at first the

liberal leaders lost much of their popularity. Caricatures were hurled against them in greater numbers, and in a better style of execution, than had been witnessed for several years. In the windows of the print-shops the heads of the two leaders were contrasted in their new fraternity in a variety of shapes, so as to exhibit the opposite character of their passions and qualities. The sleek face and fashionably-dressed and powdered hair of Lord North seemed to reject all comparison with the dark countenance and the black and disordered locks of Charles Fox. In one of these, by Sayer, the profiles of the two chiefs of the coalition are joined together on the face of a medallion; in another, by the same artist, entitled "The Mask," and inscribed "*fronti nulla fides*," the coalition is pictured by a full face formed of one half of the face of each joined in a vertical line; that of Fox, on the left, is made to convey a rather vulgar intimation of successful cunning, while the more candid features of Lord North represent a strange compound of vexation and satisfaction.

COALITION.

Among the earliest of the caricatures against the coalition is one by Gillray, published on the 9th of March, representing in two compartments the position which the coalescing parties held towards each other before and after their union. The first is entitled "War," and exhibits Fox and Burke thundering against North, as minister, their eloquent denunciations, and stigmatizing as "infamous" the very idea

of their ever consenting to act under the same banner with him. North's condemnation of his two adversaries is equally energetic. Beneath the figures, which give us a characteristic sketch of the oratorical attitudes of the three speakers, are inscribed extracts from their speeches when thus opposed to

WAR.

each other. In the second compartment, or plate, entitled "Neither Peace nor War," the three orators, now united in one cause, are placed in the same attitudes, attacking the articles of the preliminaries, from beneath which a dog makes its appearance and barks with an angry look at the trio.* Under them we read the words, "The astonishing Coalition." A cari-

* The dog is said to be intended as an allusion to an occurrence in the House of Commons during the last defensive declamation of Lord North, on the eve of his resignation. A dog, which had concealed itself under the benches, came out and set up a hideous howling in the midst of his harangue. The house was thrown into a roar of laughter, which continued until the intruder was turned out; and then Lord North coolly observed, "As the new member has ended his argument, I beg to be allowed to continue mine." The dog is made to accompany Lord North in some of the subsequent caricatures.

cature by Sayer, published on the 17th of March, represented North painting white the dark features of his new friend, alluding to his declaration in the house, "I have found him a warm friend, a fair though formidable adversary." The motto of the print is, "*Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro.*" One of the rarer prints of Gillray, published in the month of April 1783, satirizes the new administration under the representation of a "coalition dance," in which the principal characters in it figure under the various garbs given to them by the prejudices of party faction. Edmund Burke appears here as the concealed Jesuit, a character which, as we have already seen, the extreme Protestant party had conferred upon him ever since his exertions for Catholic emancipation. A large caricature by Sayer, published on the 5th of May, is founded on a speech made by one of the opposition lords in the upper house immediately after the formation of the new ministry, who, speaking of Lord North, had expressed himself in these terms:—"Such was the love of office of the noble lord, that, finding he would not be permitted to mount the box, he had been content to get up behind." The new Whig coach, with the Fox's crest on the panels, is drawn by two meagre hacks of horses through a rough road, jogging every minute against some of the great stones thrown in its way

A JESUIT.

by the opposition, by which one of its wheels has received a serious fracture. Lord North is riding behind, with an air of alarm; whilst Fox and the Duke of Portland, seated together on the box, are joining in their efforts to draw in the reins. A guide-post indicates the way they are going, "To Bulstrode, through Bushy Park." On the 21st of April, Sayer had satirized the whole ministry in a caricature, entitled, "Razor's Levee; or, the heads of a new Whig Ad——n on a broad bottom." The scene is the shop of a barber, who is busily engaged in arranging a number of block-heads, representing the members of the coalition ministry. He is especially occupied on the heads of North and Fox, joined on one stand. On the wall, immediately behind, are suspended in juxtaposition the portraits of Cromwell and Charles I., to intimate that the principles now brought together were in reality as hostile to each other as those two historical personages. Distributed through the room are the heads of Lords Portland, John Cavendish, Stormont, Carlisle, and Keppel, and Edmund Burke, each on its separate stand. A broadside ballad is stuck against the wall immediately behind Keppel, of which enough is legible to inform us that it is "Rule Britannia, set to a new tune," on the "27th July;" an allusion to Keppel's partial engagement with the French, which the Tories still threw in Kep-

THE DRIVERS OF THE STATE.

pel's teeth as an act of incapacity, if not of cowardice. Over the fire-place is "A new map of Great Britain and Ireland," from which Ireland is nearly torn away. The celebrated publican and politician, Sam-House, whom we shall soon meet again as a prominent actor in politics, sits in front with a pot of beer in his hand, and looks on admiringly. Under the barber's table are thrown away three blocks, Shelburne, Dundas, and the Duke of Grafton. The latter, who had formed a part of so many successive ministries, and who was accused by his enemies of deserting or betraying them all, seemed now to have fallen entirely in political importance.

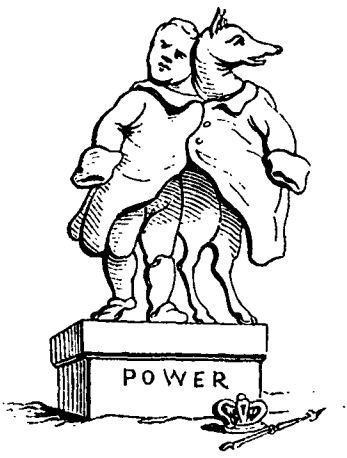
THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Among the miscellaneous caricatures against the coalition we may mention one which represents the three chiefs, Portland, Fox, and North, as a strange *lusus naturæ*, examined by the King, who refers it for further examination and dissertation to "his friend Jenkinson." Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, was popularly looked upon as the hero of the back-stairs influence by which this administration was eventually overthrown. In another, representing Fox and North partaking of their bowl of pottage, the fox is made to take the place of the satyr of the fable, who found a host who blew hot and cold with the same breath. Another large print, or rather series of prints, in nine divisions, is entitled "The loves of the Fox and the Badger; or, the Coalition Wedding," and represents a burlesque pictorial history of the friendship between Fox and Lord North, the latter

of whom was commonly designated by the *sobriquet* of "the badger." Another caricature in compart-

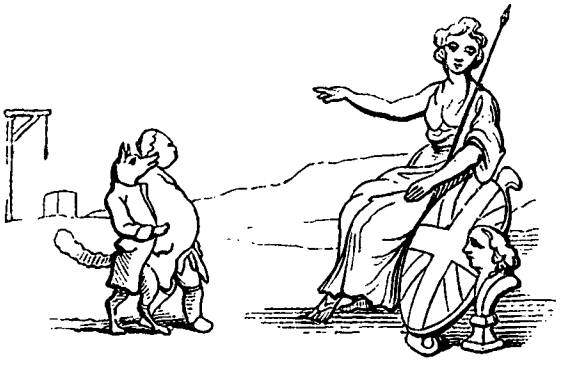
BOON COMPANIONS.

ments is entitled, "Slides to the State Magic Lantern," and ridicules the history of the coalition. In one of the divisions, the two political friends are joined under one coat, and placed on a pedestal as the new idol of the state, which everybody was required to worship. The crown and sceptre are thrown on the ground; and, indeed, it was clear to all that the idol was only allowed to stand because the King could not help himself, and that to him it was not an object of voluntary worship. The caricaturist would have us believe that it was equally unacceptable to the country; and another of the slides represents the two candidates for power rejected by Britannia, who points to a distant view



THE NEW STATE IDOL.

of the gallows and the block as their proper destination.



THE COALITION CANDIDATES REJECTED.

The first acts of the coalition ministry shewed, however, that it was strong in parliamentary influence. A rather heavy loan, rendered necessary by the condition in which Lord Shelburne had left the finances of the country, and a stamp-duty on receipts, were carried by large majorities, in spite of the violent efforts of the opposition; and the favourite measure of William Pitt, whenever he was out of office, a motion for parliamentary reform, which he now brought forward to embarrass the cabinet, was thrown out in a manner equally decisive. In the middle of July, parliament separated, and the new ministers were left to prepare in quiet the great measures which they intended to bring forward for the consideration of the legislature.

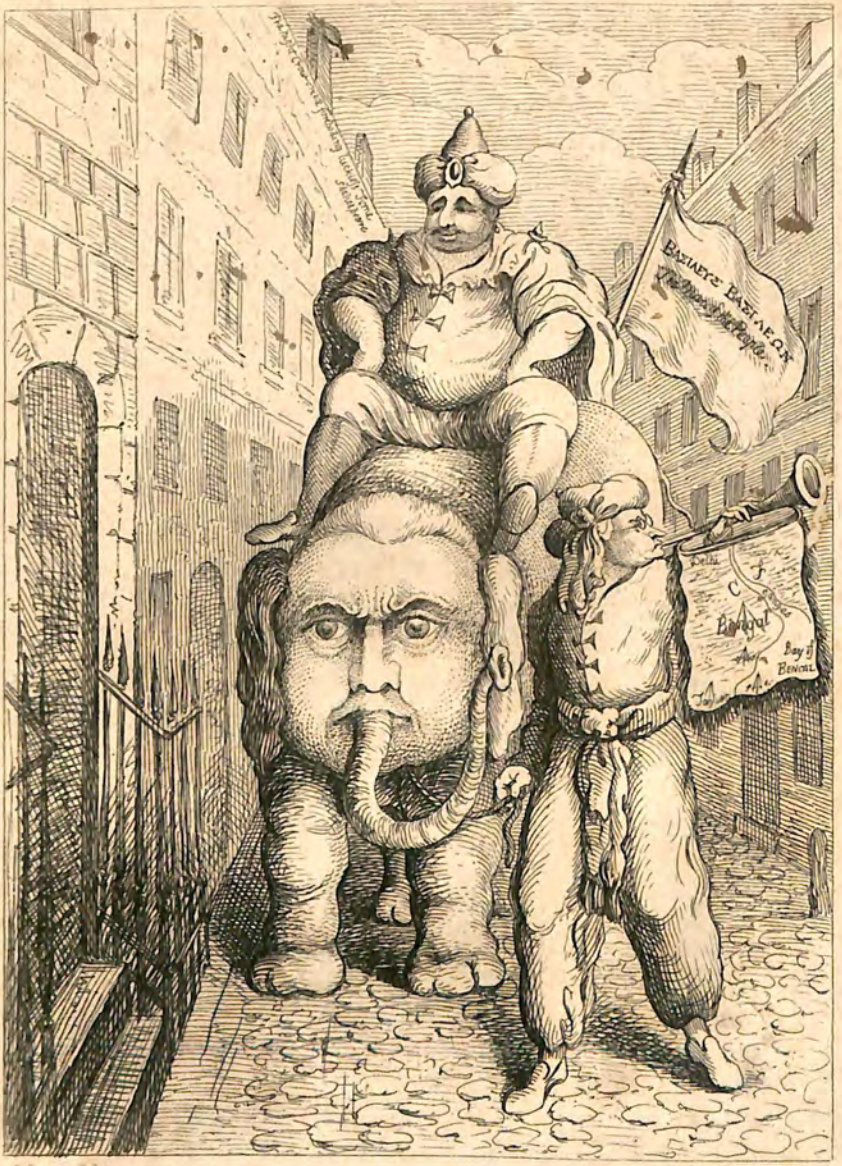
The chief of these were two bills for the better regulation of our extensive possessions in the East. The public had been long dazzled by the brilliance of our conquests in Asia, and astonished at the riches which were daily brought home; but, in the transition from a company of traders to a body which held sovereign power over mighty empires, the India directors now stood in a position which called for the interference of

the British legislature. India had hitherto been looked upon chiefly as an extensive field of plunder and aggrandisement, and it was known to the mother-country chiefly by the so-called English "nabobs," who returned home with immense fortunes, which they had amassed by every description of injustice and rapacity. The vices of this system had attracted attention for some time, and the measures now brought forward by Fox were intended to bring a remedy. He proposed to vest the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public, who were to be nominated first by the Parliament, and subsequently by the Crown, and whose power was to last during limited periods; and to add to them other officers for the more immediate government of India, with powers, and under responsibilities, which were calculated to put an end to tyranny and oppression, and to improve the condition of the people throughout our Indian possessions. The plan was, of course, obnoxious to the company, and they employed freely their immense riches in raising up opposition to it; it was even hinted at by many that the King himself had indirectly taken money from the company to overthrow it.

Parliament met on the 11th of November, and then the first measure brought forward was the bill for the regulation of India. Pitt, Dundas, Jenkinson, and other members of the opposition, spoke with warmth against it, yet it passed through the House of Commons with large majorities, the third reading taking place on the 8th of December. But anxiety was already felt for its fate in the Lords. Walpole writes on the 2nd of December, "The politicians of London, who at present are not the most numerous corporation,

are warm on a bill for the new regulation of the East Indies, brought in by Mr. Fox. Some even of his associates apprehended his being defeated, or meant to defeat him; but his marvellous abilities have hitherto triumphed conspicuously, and on two divisions in the House of Commons he had majorities of 109 and 114. On *that* field he will certainly be victorious; the forces will be more nearly balanced when the Lords fight the battle; but though the opposition will have more generals and more able, he is confident that his troops will overmatch theirs; and in parliamentary engagements a superiority of numbers is not vanquished by the talents of the commanders, as often happens in more martial encounters. His competitor, Mr. Pitt, appears by no means an adequate rival. Just like their fathers, Mr. Pitt has brilliant language, Mr. Fox solid sense, and such luminous powers of displaying it clearly, that mere eloquence is but a Bristol stone when set by the diamond reason."

The main grounds of opposition to this India bill were, that it was an infringement of vested rights as regarded the company, and that its tendency, and, probably, its object, was, by the immense influence it gave to ministers, who had the appointment of the India governors, to increase their power to such an extent as to make them independent of the Crown. Some people hesitated not to say that Fox aimed at establishing in his own person a sort of supreme India Dictatorship, and they gave him the title of Carlo Khan. Caricatures, squibs, pamphlets, were showered upon him from every side. In a caricature by Sayer, published on the 25th of November, and entitled, "A Transfer of East India Stock," Fox is represented as a giant carrying the India House on his shoulders to St.



J Sayer, del

F.W Fairholt F.S.A. sc

CARLO KHAN'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LEADENHALL St

James's. Sayer* was courting the favour of William Pitt, who was now evidently on the point of grasping at power, and a few days after the appearance of the caricature last mentioned, on the 5th of December, he published his more celebrated print of "Carlo Khan's Triumphal Entry into Leadenhall Street," his most famous production, though certainly much inferior to many of his subsequent works. Fox, in his new character of Carlo Khan, is conducted to the door of the India House on the back of an elephant, which exhibits the full face of Lord North, and he is led by Burke as his imperial trumpeter; for he had been the loudest supporter of the bill in the House of Commons. A bird of ill-omen from above croaks forth the would-be monarch's doom. Fox is said to have acknowledged that his India Bill received its severest blow in public estimation from this caricature, which had a prodigious sale, and its effect was increased by the multitude of pirated copies and imitations. When Pitt came into power he rewarded the author with a profitable place.

The sentiment which is said to have weighed most with King George, after his personal dislike to his ministers, was the dread of diminishing the influence of the Crown, which was often and carefully instilled into him by Lord Thurlow; for the King held private communication with the chiefs of the opposition, with whom he was concerting measures for bringing them back to power. The King's behaviour to

* James Sayer was the son of a captain merchant at Yarmouth, and was by profession an attorney, but having a moderate independency, he did not much pursue business. Pitt gave him the offices of marshal of the Court of Exchequer, receiver of the sixpenny duties, and cursitorship. He was the author of many political songs and squibs. He died in the earlier part of the present century, no long time after his patron, Pitt.

his present ministers was, indeed, most uncandid. He never informed them that he disapproved of the India Bill; yet when the 15th of December, the day appointed for the second reading in the House of Lords, approached, he gave Lord Temple, with whom he had had several private interviews, a note in his own handwriting to the effect "that his majesty would deem those who voted for the bill not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that if Lord Temple could put this in still stronger words, he had full authority to do so." This note was shewn pretty freely to all those peers who were supposed to be influenced by the royal inclinations; and the King further commanded the lords of the Bedchamber to vote against his ministers. The consequence was that the latter were beaten by a majority of eight. On the 17th of December the bill was finally thrown out by a majority of nineteen. In the night of the 18th the King dismissed his ministers, and gave the seals into the hands of Lord Temple.

The opposition—which, in this instance, was the Court party—burst into loud exultation, which was as loudly re-echoed by the newspapers, and trumpeted forth by their agents in a variety of different shapes. On the 24th of December, appeared a sequel to Sayer's caricature, with the title of "The Fall of Carlo Khan," in poor imitation of Sayer's style; the elephant, goaded by the opposition, has thrown its rider, Carlo, who is falling to the ground with the words, "secret influence" in his mouth. Burke, having thrown down his trumpet, and a large sack, inscribed "plans of economy," is running away at full speed. Sayer himself now produced a series of prints, in the first of which, entitled "The Fall of Phaeton," and

published on the 6th of January, 1784, Fox is represented as falling headlong from the car of state, the reins of which are held by the hand of royalty. In another, published on the 12th of January, under the title of "Pandemonium," the caricaturist has again attempted a parody on a passage of Milton, by exhibiting Fox as the political Satan, surrounded by his satellites, Lords Portland, Carlisle, Cavendish, Keppel, North, and Burke, &c., with rueful countenances, whom he is encouraging after their fall.

> "All these and more came flocking, but with looks
> Downcast and damp, yet such wherein appeared
> Obscure some glimpse of joy, to have found their chief
> Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost
> In loss itself, which on his countenance cast
> Like doubtful hue; but he, his wonted pride
> Soon recollecting, with high words that bore
> *Semblance of worth*, not *substance*, gently raised
> Their fainting courage and dispell'd their fears."

At this time, indeed, the representatives of the nation were rallying round the ex-ministry, and throwing the Court into the greatest embarrassment. The King was in the somewhat difficult position of having appointed a ministry in opposition to the majority in the House of Commons, at the same time that he had thrown their predecessors out by a manifest unconstitutional interference with parliamentary privileges. Some strong remarks on back-stairs influence, and on the note understood to have been given by the King to Lord Temple, were made in the House of Lords; but the House of Commons proceeded much more energetically. On the 17th of December, the very evening when this underhand influence was brought into play in the other House, a violent

debate arose upon the subject in the Commons, and they passed, by a majority of nearly two to one (the numbers being one hundred and fifty-three to eighty), a resolution, "That it is now necessary to declare, that, to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his Majesty upon any bill, or other proceeding, depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the Crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of Parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country;" and further, "that this House will, upon Monday morning next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the state of the nation." This was followed by a resolution equally strong, and carried by a majority in the same proportion, declaring the necessity of a legislative act for the government of India. On the 19th of December, after the ministers had been dismissed, on a question of adjournment the Court party found themselves in so small a minority, that they did not dare to divide. On Monday, the 22nd, it was notified that Earl Temple, who had been appointed one of the new secretaries of State, had resigned his office in consequence of what had transpired in the House on the 19th. A very strong address to the King was then voted without a division, and was presented on the 24th, to which the King returned an evasive answer, but made a distinct declaration that he would not prorogue or dissolve the Parliament. On the 12th of January, the first day of meeting after Christmas, when there was a full attendance of members, the Court having made every exertion to increase its number of votes, there was a majority of thirty-

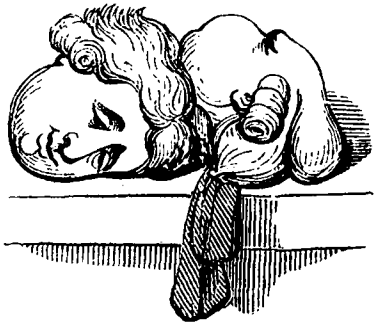
nine against the ministers, on the question of going into committee to consider the state of the nation. Fox then stated, that it was necessary to come to some specific resolution to prevent the present ministry from making an improper use of their power "the short time they had to exist;" and moved, "That it was the opinion of the committee, that any person in his Majesty's treasury, exchequer, pay-office, bank of England, or any person whatever entrusted with the public money, paying away, or causing to be paid, any sum or sums of money voted for the service of the present year, in case of a dissolution or prorogation of Parliament, before a bill, or bills, were brought in for the appropriation of such sums, would be guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, highly derogatory to the honour of the House, and contrary to the faith of Parliament." This resolution was carried without a division, as well as another, "That it is the opinion of the committee, that there should be laid before them an account of all sums of money expended for the use of the public service between the 19th of December, 1783, and the 12th of January, 1784, specifying each sum, and for what expended." In moving this resolution, Fox said that it might appear an extraordinary method; but, as extraordinary measures had been taken by the present ministry to come into power, it required extraordinary motions to prevent them doing mischief now they were in power. Other resolutions were passed, especially two moved by the Earl of Surrey, "That it is the opinion of the committee, that in the present situation of his Majesty's dominions, it is highly necessary that such an administration should be formed as possesses both the confidence of this House and of the public;" and

"that it is the opinion of the committee, that the late changes were preceded by extraordinary rumours, dangerous to the constitution, inasmuch as the sacred name of Majesty had been unconstitutionally used for the purpose of affecting the deliberations of Parliament; and the appointments that followed were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as were evidently calculated not to conciliate the affections of that House." This last motion was violently opposed by Pitt, Dundas, and Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon), but it was carried by a majority of fifty-four. On the 15th of January, Pitt obtained leave to bring in his India bill. On the 16th the House again resolved itself into a committee; and, after a very warm debate, the following resolution was passed by a majority of twenty-one:—"That it is the opinion of this committee, it having been declared by this House, that, in the present situation of his Majesty's dominions, an administration should be formed, which possessed the confidence of this House and the public; and the present administration being formed under circumstances new and extraordinary, such as were not calculated to conciliate the affections or engage the confidence of this House; that his Majesty's present ministers still holding high and responsible offices, after such a declaration, is contrary to true constitutional principles, and injurious to his Majesty and his people." The debates on these resolutions were sometimes exceedingly violent, and led to much personal recrimination, especially between Pitt and Fox; but the former bore everything with the passive coldness for which he was remarkable, and the King remained obstinate in pursuing his own course. On the 23rd of January Pitt's India bill was

thrown out by a majority of eight, and Fox obtained leave to bring in a new bill on the same subject. The House was still labouring under the fear of a dissolution; and, on the 26th of January, a resolution was passed to avert it, on which Pitt declared that he should not advise his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament. An attempt was now made by some persons of influence, who were alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, to form a new coalition; to which the King and Pitt professed themselves favourable; but it was soon seen that this was merely done for the purpose of gaining time, and in the hope of being able to soften down the opposition. On the 2nd of February, Mr. Grosvenor, who had been the chief actor in this attempt, declared to the House his failure, and moved a resolution, which was carried without a division, setting forth the necessity of an "united administration." This was followed by a much more important resolution, moved by Mr. Coke of Norfolk, and carried, after a warm debate, by a majority of nineteen, "That it is the opinion of this House, that the continuance of the present ministry in power is an obstacle to the formation of such an administration as is likely to have the confidence of this House and the people." Next day it was resolved, by a majority of twenty-four, that a copy of the resolutions of the preceding day should be laid before the King. On the day after (Feb. 4), the House of Lords passed a resolution, by a majority of forty-seven, that it was contrary to the letter and spirit of the constitution that one branch of the legislature should pass any resolutions impeding the progress of the whole, and tending to deprive the Crown of its prerogative in nominating and keeping in office

its own servants; and, on the 5th, a loyal address of the House of Lords was presented to the King. The Commons resented this with warmth, and passed a string of resolutions in defence of their own conduct. On the 18th of February, Mr. Pitt coldly informed the House "That his Majesty, after considering the present situation of public affairs, had not dismissed his ministers, nor had those ministers resigned." On the 20th, another resolution against the ministers was passed by a majority of twenty, and an address to the King in the same spirit was passed; and similar motions and addresses were repeated, until, on the 24th of March, the Parliament was prorogued, with a discontented speech from the throne, and it was dissolved on the day following, March 25th. Thus ended for the moment this threatening contest between the Crown and the most important branch of the Legislature; and the result of the elections hindered it from being revived in the subsequent session.

During these rough proceedings within doors, the nation without was violently agitated, and the press entered hotly into the dispute, and dealt largely in personal abuse. The ministerial caricaturists were not inactive. On the 9th of February, Sayer engraved a plate representing the heads of Fox and North, decapitated and laid on the table of the House, with a parody on Fox's motion for the adjournment of the consideration of the mutiny act:—



HEADS.

"*Cui bono?—publico bono.*

"*Die Lunæ*, 9° *Februarii*, 1784.

"In a committee on the sense of the nation,—Moved—that for preventing future disorders and dissensions, the *heads* of the Mutiny Act be brought in, and suffered to lie on the table to-morrow.

"Ordered.

"That all further proceedings upon the act for dividing the Commons, &c. be adjourned *sine die*. "Ordered.

"VOX POPULI, *Cler. Par.*"

One or two other clever prints by Sayer were produced on this occasion. An engraving by Gillray, published in the month of February, represented Pitt under the character of the infant Hercules, strangling the two serpents of the coalition, Fox and North. The

YOUNG HERCULES AND THE SERPENTS.

coalition was attacked in songs and ballads, as well as in caricatures; and the political tergiversations, either real or pretended, of the chiefs of the opposition, were chanted incessantly, not only in public, but even in private parties.

"Lord North, for twelve years, with his war and contracts,
The people he nearly had laid on their backs;
Yet stoutly he swore he sure was a villain,
If e'er he had bettered his fortune a shilling.
Derry down, down, down, derry down.

"Against him Charles Fox was a sure bitter foe,
And cried, that the empire he'd soon overthrow;
Before him all honour and conscience had fled,
And vow'd that the axe it should cut off his head.
Derry down, &c.

"Edmund Burke, too, was in a mighty great rage,
And declared Lord North the disgrace of the age;
His plans and his conduct he treated with scorn,
And thought it a curse that he'd ever been born.
Derry down, &c.

"So hated he was, Fox and Burke they both swore,
They infamous were if they enter'd his door;
But, prithee, good neighbour, now think on the end,
Both Burke and Fox call him their very good friend!
Derry down, &c.

"Now Fox, North, and Burke, each one is a brother,
So honest, they swear, there is not such another;
No longer they tell us we're going to ruin,
The people they *serve* in whatever they're doing.
Derry down," &c.

Against the evils under which the country was in danger of being brought by this confederacy, there was, it is pretended, only one hope of salvation.

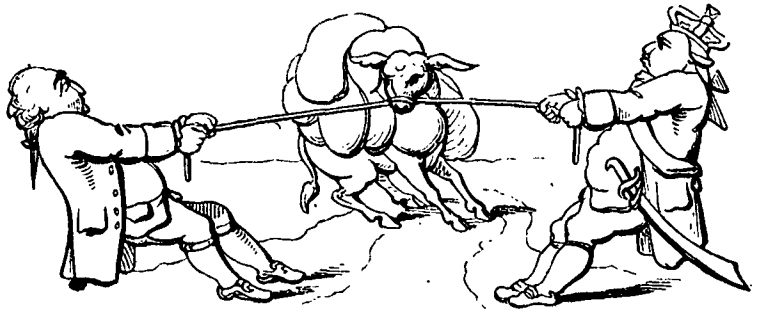
"But Chatham, thank heaven! has left us a son;
When *he* takes the helm, we are sure not undone;
The glory his father revived of the land,
And Britannia has taken Pitt by the hand."

The Court party, indeed, did all they could to have it believed that the opposition was a mere faction, unpopular throughout the country; and they expressed with great confidence that an appeal to the nation would end in their own favour. A boldly-drawn caricature, entitled "Britannia Aroused; or, the coalition monsters destroyed," represents Britannia hurling the

two chiefs of the coalition from her, as enemies to that liberty of which she carries the symbol by her side.

BRITANNIA AROUSED.

The coalition had, indeed, for a time become unpopular, not only from a sort of repugnance to the sudden union of parties who had been so bitterly opposed to each other, but from the pertinacity of the attacks which had been directed against them. There were others who held back in a certain degree of neutrality, equally opposed to the extension of the prerogative on one side, and fearful on the other that the violence of the other was paving the way for the encroachments of democracy. The voice of this party is heard at times, but not very loud. A caricature, entitled "The Unfortunate Ass," published on the 11th



A LONG PULL AND A STRONG PULL.

of March, 1784, burlesques the long struggle between King George and Charles Fox, which had preceded the dissolution of Parliament. The ass represents the people laden with taxes; the King, armed with the

sword of "prerogative," is pulling in one direction, which is designated by a finger-post as the "road to absolute monarchy." Fox is pulling with equal obstinacy in the other direction, which is similarly pointed out as the "road to republicanism." Fox exclaims, "I humbly insist upon the management, or else will not grant any supplies."

The popular party had also its numerous caricaturists, who held up to scorn not only the measures and designs of the new ministers, but the means by which they had been brought into power. In one of these, published on the 12th of January, the King is represented with two faces, giving his hand openly on one side to Fox, who has the India bill in his hand, and to North, while with the other face he thrusts his hand through a screen to a lord who has mounted by the back-stairs. Behind North and Fox a picture is suspended on the wall, representing Bute in the character of a Scottish cat, booted, with an inscription in French, intimating that it is "the celebrated Scottish cat which obtained a place in the royal cabinet twenty-four years ago: it is represented booted, and fierce, especially to the King's ministers." Over the back-stairs entrance is an empty frame, with the inscription, also in French, "The frame for the companion to the Scottish cat, which is not yet found."

Among a number of patriotic caricatures which appeared during the parliamentary struggle described above, and on the eve of the elections, we may mention three, which bear considerable resemblance to the style of Rowlandson, and are probably to be reckoned among his early works. In the first, published on the 11th of March, Fox is represented as "The Champion of the People," armed with the sword of justice and the

shield of truth, and combating the many-headed hydra, whose various mouths breathe forth "Tyranny," "Assumed prerogative," "Despotism," "Oppression," "Secret influence," "Scotch politics," "Duplicity," and "Corruption." The two latter, with some others, are already cut off. Behind the dragon, the Dutchman, Frenchman, and other foreign enemies, are seen dancing round the standard of sedition. The champion has on his side strong bodies of English and Irish, bearing aloft the "standard of universal liberty;" the former shout, "While he protects us, we will support him;" the latter, "He gave us a free trade, and all we asked; he shall have our *firm* support." Still nearer him, the East Indians are on their knees praying for his success. The second of these caricatures, published on the 26th of March, is entitled, "The State Auction." Pitt, as the young auctioneer, is knocking down with the hammer of "prerogative" most of the valuables of the constitution. Dundas, as his assistant, is holding up for sale a heavy lot, entitled "Lot 1. The Rights of the People." Pitt cries, "Shew the lot this way, Harry—a'going, a'going—speak quick, or it 's gone—hold up the lot, ye Dund-ass!" To which the assistant replies, "I can hould it na higher, sir." On the left, the "chosen representers," as they are termed, are leaving the auction-room, muttering complaints, or encouragements, such as, "Adieu to liberty!" "Despair not," "Now or never!" Fox alone stands his ground, and makes a last effort,—"I am determined to bid with spirit for lot 1; he shall pay dear for it that outbids me!" Beneath the auctioneer stand what are termed the "hereditary virtuosis;" the foremost of whom (apparently intended to represent the lord-chancellor) leads them on with the exhorta-

tion, "Mind not the nonsensical biddings of those common fellows." The auctioneer's secretary observes, "We shall get the supplies by this sale." The third of the caricatures alluded to, published on the 31st of March, when the elections were beginning, alludes more especially to the dissolution which had just taken place. It is entitled "The Hanoverian Horse and British Lion;—a scene in a new play, lately acted in Westminster with distinguished applause, act 2nd, scene last." Behind is the vacant throne, with the intimation, "We shall resume our situation here at pleasure, Leo Rex." In front, the Hanoverian horse, without bridle or saddle, neighing "pre-ro-ro-ro-ro-rogative," is trampling on the safeguards of the constitution, and kicking out with violence its "faithful commons." The young minister, mounted on the back of the prancing animal, cries "Bravo!—go it again!—I love to ride a mettled steed; send the vagabonds packing." On the opposite side of the picture, Fox is borne in, with more gravity, on the back of the British lion, and holding a whip and bridle in his hand. The indignant beast exclaims, "If this horse is not tamed, he will soon be absolute king of our forest!" The lion's rider warns his rival horseman of his danger,—"Prithee, Billy, dismount before ye get a fall, and let some abler jockey take your seat."

THE BRITISH LION AND ITS RIDER.

William Pitt, though only in his twenty-fifth year, was thus, by the royal will, firmly established prime

minister of England. His colleagues were either those who were already well known as "the King's friends," or those young aspirants to power who were willing to tread in their steps. Pitt joined in himself the offices of first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Camden was president of the Council; Viscount Sydney and the Marquis of Carmarthen, secretaries of State for Home and Foreign Affairs; Earl Gower, privy seal; Earl Howe, first lord of the Admiralty; Lord Thurlow, chancellor; the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the Ordnance; Mr. W. Grenville and Lord Mulgrave, joint paymasters of the Forces; Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the Navy; Mr. (afterwards Lord) Kenyon, attorney-general; and Mr. Pepper Arden, solicitor-general. The opposition were fully aware of the disadvantages under which they would labour in a general election at the present moment, and they had been anxious to avert a dissolution; their fears were confirmed by the event. The elections were in many cases obstinate; but Court influence, and even the King's name, were used openly, and from being the majority, the party which had been led by Fox and North numbered but a comparatively small minority in the House of Commons. A few passages from Horace Walpole's Correspondence will give us the best picture of the feelings of the day. On the 30th of March, he writes, "My letters, since the great change in the administration, have been rare, and much less informing than they used to be. In a word, I was not at all glad of the revolution, nor have the smallest connection with the new occupants. There has been a good deal of boldness on both sides. Mr. Fox, convinced of the necessity of hardy measures to correct and save India, and coupling with that

rough medicine a desire of confirming the power of himself and his allies, had formed a great system, and a very sagacious one; so sagacious, that it struck France with terror. But as this new power was to be founded on the demolition of that nest of monsters, the East India Company, and their spawn of nabobs, &c., they took the alarm; and the secret junto at Court rejoiced that they did. The Court struck the blow at the ministers; but it was the gold of the company that really conjured up the storm, and has diffused it all over England. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt has braved the majority of the House of Commons, has dissolved the existent one, and, I doubt, given a wound to that branch of the legislature, which, if the tide does not turn, may be very fatal to the constitution. The nation is intoxicated; and has poured in addresses of thanks to the Crown for exerting the prerogative *against* the palladium of the people. The first consequence will probably be, that the Court will have a considerable majority upon the new elections. The country has acted with such precipitation, and with so little knowledge of the question, that I do not doubt but thousands of eyes will be opened and wonder at themselves." And, on the 11th of April, "The scene is wofully changed for the opposition, though not half the new parliament is yet chosen. Though they still contest a very few counties and some boroughs, they own themselves totally defeated. They reckoned themselves sure of 240 members; they probably will not have 150. In short, between the industry of the Court and the India Company, and that momentary phrenzy that sometimes seizes a whole nation, as if it were a vast animal, such aversion to the coalition, and such a detestation

of Mr. Fox, have seized the country, that, even where omnipotent gold retains its influence, the elected pass through an ordeal of the most virulent abuse. The great Whig families, the Cavendishes, Rockinghams, Bedfords, have lost all credit in their own counties; nay, have been tricked out of seats where the whole property was their own: and, in some of those cases, a *royal* finger has too evidently tampered, as well as singularly and revengefully towards Lord North and Lord Hertford . . . . Such a proscription, however, must have sown so deep resentment as it was not wise to provoke; considering that permanent fortune is a jewel that in no crown is the most to be depended upon."

The most remarkable event in the history of these elections was the obstinate contest for Westminster, which agitated the metropolis in the most extraordinary manner during several weeks. Westminster had been represented in the Parliament just dissolved by Fox and Sir Cecil Wray, who had been nominated by Fox, but he had deserted the standard of his political leader. The Court was resolved, if possible, to turn Fox out of the House, and Wray and Lord Hood (the admiral) were on the present occasion proposed for Westminster, the former being more especially held forth as the antagonist of the "man of the people." The poll was opened on the 1st of April, and continued without intermission until the 17th of May. For the first few days, in consequence of the extraordinary exertions of their party, the two ministerial candidates were decidedly in the majority; but afterwards Fox gradually gained ground, until, at the close of the election, he had a majority of 236 votes over his rival, Sir Cecil. For a great portion of

the six weeks during which this contest lasted, the western part of the town and, more especially, the streets in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, (where the election for Westminster always took place,) presented a scene of indescribable riot and confusion. At the beginning of the election, Lord Hood had brought up a considerable body of sailors, or, as others represented them, they were chiefly hired ruffians dressed in sailors' clothes, who occupied the neighbourhood of the hustings, and hindered many of Fox's friends from approaching to register their votes. When not thus employed, they paraded the streets, insulting and even striking Fox's partizans. On the third day they came in greater numbers, armed with bludgeons, and surrounded the Shakespeare, where Fox's committee met, and committed various outrages during the day. At night they besieged the Shakespeare still more closely, until the gentlemen within, provoked by their insulting behaviour, sallied out and beat them away. This defeat only added to the excitement, for on the morning of the fourth day of the election the sailor-mob made its appearance with a great accession of force, and took up its position about the hustings as usual. But there was a mob on the other side also, for the hackney-chairmen, a numerous body, who were chiefly Irishmen, were almost unanimous in their support of Fox; and, aggravated by the conduct of the sailors, when the latter began at the close of this day's poll to return to their usual outrages, the chairmen, whom the newspapers in the interest of the opposition termed "the honest mob," fell upon them and handled them so roughly that we are told that several had their skulls fractured, and that others were afterwards picked up with arms, legs,

and ribs broken. The sailors then left the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, and proceeded to St. James's Street, where chiefly the chairmen plied for custom, with the avowed intention of breaking their chairs; but the chairmen beat them again, and the riot was at length put an end to by the arrival of a body of the guards. The next day, which was Tuesday, the sailors re-assembled in a threatening attitude in Covent Garden, but when, towards the end of the poll, the rival mob, composed now of a multitude of butchers, brewers, and other people, in addition to the chairmen, made its appearance, the sailors left Covent Garden, and hastened towards Charing Cross, to intercept Fox, who was understood to be on his way to Westminster to canvass. Fox escaped by taking refuge in a private house; and the mob, having visited Westminster without meeting with the object of their search, returned to the Strand, where another combat took place between the adverse factions, and the sailors were again defeated. They met with no better success in two other battles that occurred in the course of the same evening. Wednesday presented the same scenes of riot, and, in the evening, a still more obstinate battle was fought in Covent Garden between the two mobs, in which the sailors were utterly defeated, and no less than twenty or thirty of them are said to have been carried to the hospitals with severe injuries. Next day few sailors made their appearance, and no more serious rioting occurred until measures were taken by the civil authorities to prevent any violent outbreak of popular feeling which might occur at the close of the poll. The special constables were assembled at the places where Hood and Wray's committee met, and behaved in a manner so evidently

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hostile to the friends of Fox, that their presence tended rather to provoke riot than otherwise. On the 10th of May, a party of constables from Wapping were brought by order of Justice Wilmot,* in opposition, it was said, to the opinions of the other magistrates, and they went about shouting "No Fox!" and impeding and insulting the liberal voters. Just as the poll closed, a slight disturbance gave the excuse for an attack by the constables. The sound of marrow-bones and cleavers, the old signal for an insurrection of the populace, was immediately heard, and a rather serious scuffle ended in the death of one of the constables. The party of Fox's opponents endeavoured to fix the death of the constable on some individuals of the Foxite mob, who were indicted for the murder, but acquitted; and it appeared pretty evident on the trial that the victim had been knocked down by mistake by one of his fellow-constables in the heat and confusion of the moment. But the violence of party faction was so great, that one or two men of notoriously bad character were brought forward, apparently hired, to swear that they had seen the constable killed by the persons indicted; and a further attempt was made to create a new affray, by carrying the body for burial to Covent Garden church, attended by a tumultous cavalcade, with flags, and incendiary handbills, on the 14th of May, in the midst of the day's polling. This was pre-

* "Justice Wilmot" appears to have had no great reputation for the extent of his judicial capacity. One of the Foxite newspapers pretends that, a short time before the catastrophe mentioned in the text, he had addressed to one of the chief booksellers in London a note worded as follows:

"MR. EVANS,

"Sir, I expects soon to be calld out on a Mergensey, so send me all the ax of parlyment re Latin to a Gustis of Piece. I am,

"Yours to command, &c.

"GUSTIS WILMOT."

vented by the firmness of the parish officers, and by the proposal to close the poll at two o'clock on that day.

Perhaps no single occasion ever drew forth, in the same space of time, so many political squibs, ballads, and caricatures, and so much personal abuse on both sides, as this election for Westminster. The newspapers were filled daily with this subject, which seemed exclusively to occupy all the wits and fashionable politicians of the metropolis. The popular charges against Sir Cecil Wray were, his ingratitude towards Fox, for which his opponents treated him with the title of Judas Iscariot; a proposal which he was said to have made to suppress Chelsea Hospital; and a project of a tax upon maid-servants. To these were added the more general cries against his party, of undue elevation of the prerogative and back-stairs influence. The particular crimes laid against Fox, were the Coalition and the India-bill; but he was taxed with private immorality and with revolutionary principles. His opponents represented that his attack on the East India Company's charter was but the commencement of a general invasion of chartered rights of corporate bodies:—

> "This great Carlo Khan,
> Some say, had a plan
> To take all our charters away;
> But his scheme was found out,
> And you need not to doubt,
> Was opposed by the staunch Cecil Wray."

It was but a new link in his chain of political delinquencies; his whole life, they said, had been characterized by the same want of sober principles:—

"When first young Reynard came from France,
He tried to bow, to dress, to dance,
But to succeed had little chance,
The courtly dames among;
'Tis true, indeed, his wit has charms;
But his grim phiz the point disarms,
And all were fill'd with dire alarms
At such a *beau garçon.*

"He left the fair, and took to dice;
At Brooks's they were not so nice,
But clear'd his pockets in a trice,
Nor left a wreck behind.
Nay, some pretend he even lost
That little grace he had to boast,
And then resolv'd to seize some post,
Where he might *raise the wind.*

"In politics he could not fail;
So set about it tooth and nail;
But here again his stars prevail,
Nor long the meteor shone.
His friends,—if such deserve the name,—
Still keep him at a losing game;
Bankrupt in fortune and in fame,
His day is almost done."

The grand enemy of the Crown, the Court agents said, was no doubt at his last gasp, and they began already to sing their triumph over his grave:—

"Dear Car, is it true,
What I 've long heard of you?
'The man of the people,' they call you, they call you!
How comes it to pass,
They 're now grown so rash,
At the critical moment to leave you, to leave you?
Oh! that curs'd India bill!
Arrah, why not be still,
Enjoy a tight place and be civil, be civil;
Had you carried it through,
Oagh! that would just do,
Then their charters we 'd pitch to the Devil, the Devil."

The other party, by dwelling continually on Sir Cecil's project of saving money to the state by abolishing Chelsea Hospital, arrayed against him the numerous class who, one way or other, derived benefit from that establishment; and they loudly represented that his proposed tax on maid-servants would throw a great number of servants out of places, and that it would thus not only produce great distress, but that it would indirectly increase the prevalence of prostitution. There was also a satirical story of his keeping nothing in his cellar but small-beer, and some other little incidents, which were stretched one way or another into objects of ridicule, if not of odium. The sort of papers that were daily placarded and distributed about, may be conceived from the following specimen, belonging to a class of parodies which were then not uncommon:—

"*The first Chapter of the Times.*

"1. And it came to pass, that there were great dissensions in the West, amongst the rulers of the nation.

"2. And the counsellors of the back-stairs said, let us take advantage and yoke the people even as oxen, and rule them with a rod of iron.

"3. And let us break up the Assembly of Privileges, and get a new one of Prerogatives; and let us hire false prophets to deceive the people. And they did so.

"4. Then Judas Iscariot went amongst the citizens, saying, 'Choose me one of your elders, and I will tax your innocent damsels, and I will take the bread from the helpless, lame, and blind.

"5. 'And with the scrip which will arise, we will eat, drink, and be merry.' Then he brought forth the roll of sheep-skin, and came unto the gin-shops, cellars, and bye-places, and said,—'Sign your names,'—and many made their marks.*

* This alludes to a loyal address sent from Westminster a little while before the election, and said to have been smuggled by Sir Cecil Wray without the knowledge of the greater part of the electors, and signed only by a few ignorant people.

"6. Now it came to pass, that the time being come when the people choose their elders, that they assembled together at the hustings, nigh unto the Place of Cabbages.

"7. And Judas lifted up his prerogative phiz, and said, 'Choose me, choose me!' But the people said, 'Satan, avaunt! thou wicked Judas! hast thou not *deceived* thy best friend? would'st thou *deceive* us also? Get thee behind us, thou unclean spirit!

"8. 'We will have the man who ever has and will support our cause, and maintain our rights, who stands forth to us, and who will never be guided by *Secret Influence!*'

"9. And the people shouted, and cried with an exceeding loud voice, saying, 'Fox is the man!'

"10. Then they caused the trumpets to be sounded, as at the feast of the full moon, and sang, 'Long live Fox! may our champion live for ever! Amen.'"

Every new proclamation or placard issued by Fox's party harped on the story of Chelsea Hospital and the maid-servants; nor was the old symbol of France and slavery—wooden shoes—forgotten. The following, put out early in the canvass, may serve as an example; the allusion being more especially to the extensive polling of soldiers for Hood and Wray at the beginning of the election:—

"All *Horse-guards, Grenadier-guards, Foot-guards,* and *Black-guards,* that have not polled for the destruction of *Chelsea Hospital* and the *tax on maid-servants,* are desired to meet at the Gutter Hole, opposite the Horse-guards, where they will have a full bumper of '*knock-me-down,*' and plenty of *soap-suds,* before they go to poll for Sir Cecil Wray, or eat.

"N.B.—Those that have no shoes or stockings may come without, there being a quantity of *wooden shoes provided for them.*"

The obnoxious tax upon the maids was a sufficient set-off to the new taxes, especially that on receipts, which had been proposed by Fox while in office, and were loudly cried down by his Tory opponents:—

"For though he opposes the stamping of notes,
'Tis in order to tax all your petticoats,
Then how can *a woman* solicit our votes
For Sir Cecil Wray?"

The ladies are, therefore, especially warned against countenancing such a pretender, whose only claim was the love of back-stairs intrigue, and whose crooked politics were not embellished even by generous feelings:—

"For had he to women been ever a friend,
Nor by taxing *them* tried our old taxes to mend,
Yet so *stingy* he is, that none can contend
For Sir Cecil Wray.

"The gallant Lord Hood to his country is dear,
His voters, like Charlie's, make excellent cheer;
But who has been able to taste *the small beer*
Of Sir Cecil Wray?

"Then come ev'ry free, ev'ry generous soul,
That loves a fine girl and a full flowing bowl,
Come here in a body, and all of you poll
'Gainst Sir Cecil Wray!

"In vain all the arts of the Court are let loose,
The electors of Westminster never will choose
To run down a Fox, and set up a *Goose*
Like Sir Cecil Wray."

The exertions of the Court against Fox were indeed of the most extraordinary kind. The King is said to have received almost hourly intelligence of what was going on, and to have been affected in the most evident manner by every change in the state of the poll. The royal name was used very freely in obtaining votes for Hood and Wray, even in threats. On one occasion, two hundred and eighty of the guards were sent in a body to give their votes as householders, which, Horace Walpole observes, "*is* legal, but which

my father (Sir Robert), in the most quiet seasons, would not have dared to do." All dependents on the Court were commanded to vote on the same side as the soldiers. When the popular party cried out against this sort of interference, their opponents charged Fox and his friends with bribery, and with using various other kinds of improper influence; they insulted his voters by describing them publicly as the lowest and most degraded part of the population; and their language became more violent as Fox gradually rose on the poll. "It is an absolute fact," one of their papers said, "that if a person, on going up to the Shakespeare, can shew a *piece* of a shirt *only*, the committee declares him *duly qualified*." Another paper announces, "This day the *elegant* inhabitants of Borough-clink, Rag-fair, Chick-lane, &c., go up with an address to Mr. Fox, at his *ready-furnished lodgings*, thanking him for his interest in the late extraordinary *circulation of handkerchiefs*." Forgetting their own sailors, they exclaimed against the employment of persons of no better character than Irish chairmen; and after the unfortunate affair on the 10th of May, they headed their bills with such titles as, "No murder! no club-law! no butchers'-law! no petticoat government!" It was now, however, the turn of the Foxites to triumph in their increasing numbers of votes, and a shower of exulting squibs and songs fell upon their opponents. Placards like the following were scattered abroad before the end of April :—

"*Oh! help Judas, lest he fall into the Pitt of Ingratitude!!!*

"The *prayers* of all bad Christians, Heathens, Infidels, and Devil's-agents, are most earnestly requested for their dear friend,

JUDAS ISCARIOT, *knight of the back-stairs*,

lying at the period of political dissolution; having received a dreadful

wound from the exertions of the lovers of liberty and the constitution, in the poll of the last ten days at the Hustings, nigh unto the Place of Cabbages."

They published caricatures, in which the unsuccessful candidate was driven away by a maid-servant's broom and a pensioner's crutch; or pursued by a hooting crowd, bearing on their banners "No tax on maid-servants," &c.; or riding dolefully on a slow and obstinate ass, while the successful candidates are galloping onwards to the end of the race, on high-mettled horses, and leaving him far in the distance. Even the Irish chairmen were given their fling at the discomfited candidate, in a "new" ballad, entitled "Paddy's farewell to Sir Cecil:"—

"Sir Cecil, be aisy, I wont be unshivil,
Now the Man of the Paple is chose in your stead;
From swate Covent-Garden you 're flung to the Divil,
By Jasus, Sir Cecil, you 've bodder'd your head.
Fa-ra-lal, &c.

"To be sure, much avail to you all your fine spaiches,
'Tis nought but palaver, my honey, my dear,
While all Charly's voters stick to him like laiches,
A frind to our liberties and our *small beer*.
Fa-ra-lal, &c."

The ladies are then represented as rejoicing in his defeat, with the exception of his canvassing friend, Mrs. Hobart; and the songster concludes:—

"Ah now! pray let no jontleman prissent take this ill,
By my truth, Pat shall nivir use unshivil wards;
But my varse sure must plaise, which the name of Sir Cecil
Hands down to oblivion's latest recards.
Fa-ra-lal, &c.

"If myshelf with the tongue of a prophet is gifted,
Oh! I sees in a twinkling the knight's latter ind!
Tow'rds the varge of his life div'lish high he 'll be lifted,
And after his death, never fear, he 'll discind.
Fa-ra-lal, &c."

The young Prince of Wales, who was now the intimate friend of Fox, and the warm supporter of the coalition, exerted himself as actively against the Court in this Westminster election, as his father's ministers did in favour of it, and his conduct is said to have given extreme provocation to the King and Queen. Members of his own household were employed in canvassing for voters; and some of the ministerial papers, which, in their paragraphs shewed little respect for his character, declared that he had canvassed in person; one of them states, with an appended observation, the wit of which is not very remarkable, that, "The Prince appeared at Ranelagh last week with a *Fox cockade* in his hat, and a sprig of *laurel;* if he should ever be sent a *bird's-nesting* by Oliver, it is to be expected he will prefer the *laurel* to the *oak*." At this time is said to have arisen the hostile feeling which the Prince ever afterwards entertained towards Pitt, and which was increased by the minister's stiff and haughty bearing towards him. The Prince gave a magnificent party in honour of Fox's triumph at Westminster.

Another active and remarkable partizan of Fox was "honest" Sam House* the publican, an old resident in this character in Westminster, remarkable for his oddities† and for his political zeal. During this election he kept open house at his own expense, and

* The picture of Sam House occurs in many caricatures of the time. The cut given on the next page is copied from a plate by Gillray.

† Sam House was remarkable for his clean and perfectly bald head, over which he never wore hat or wig. His unvaried dress consisted of nankeen jacket and breeches, brightly polished shoes and buckles, and he had his waistcoat constantly open in all seasons, and wore remarkably white linen. His legs were generally bare; but, when clad, were always in stockings of the finest quality of silk.

was honoured with the company of many of the Whig aristocracy. An early caricature by Gillray, entitled "Returning from Brooks's," represents the Prince of Wales in a state of considerable inebriety, wearing the election cockade, and supported by Fox and the patriotic publican. The wit of the ministerial papers was often expended on honest Sam. At the beginning of the election, when Fox seemed to be in a hopeless minority, one of them inserted a paragraph stating that the publican had committed suicide in his despair. He is said to have been a very successful canvasser in the course of the election.

A PATRIOTIC PUBLICAN.

"See the brave Sammy House, he 's as still as a mouse,
And does canvass with prudence so clever;
See what shoals with him flocks, to poll for brave Fox,
Give thanks to Sam House, boys, for ever, for ever, for ever!
Give thanks to Sam House, boys, for ever!

"Brave bald-headed Sam, all must own, is the man,
Who does canvass for brave Fox so clever;
His aversion, I say, is to *small beer and Wray!*
May his bald head be honour'd for ever, for ever, for ever!
May his bald head be honour'd for ever!"

But the most active and successful of Fox's canvassers, and the most ungenerously treated by the opposite party, was the beautiful and accomplished Duchess of Devonshire (Georgiana Spencer). Attended by several

others of the beauties of the Whig aristocracy, she was almost daily present at the election, wearing Fox's cockade, and she went about personally soliciting votes, which she obtained in great numbers by the influence of her personal charms and by her affability. The Tories were greatly annoyed at her ladyship's proceedings; they accused her of wholesale bribery; and it was currently reported that she had in one instance bought the vote of a butcher with a kiss, an incident which was immediately exhibited to people's eyes in multitudes of pictures, with more or less of exaggeration. But nothing could be more disgraceful than the profusion of scandalous and indecent abuse which was heaped upon this noble lady by the ministerial press, especially by its two great organs, the *Morning Post* and the *Advertiser*. The insult in some cases was merely coarse, such as the following from the *Morning Post*. "The Duchess of Devonshire yesterday canvassed the different alehouses of Westminster in favour of Mr. Fox; about one o'clock she took her share of a pot of porter at Sam House's in Wardour Street." The same paper makes her write to the candidate. "Yesterday I sent you three votes, but went through great fatigue to secure them; it cost me *ten kisses* for every *plumper*. I'm much afraid *we are done up*,—will see you at the *porter-shop*, and consult about ways and means." Others of these

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newspaper paragraphs were more pointedly insulting to the feelings of a virtuous female, such as "We hear that the D——ss of D—— grants *favours* to those who promise their votes and interest to Mr. Fox."—"A certain beautiful lady of quality, who has for some days past canvassed on foot for her favourite candidate, met lately with such a reception as she might reasonably expect; one man offered a hundred votes *for one of her favours.*"—"A certain lady of great beauty and high rank, requests that in future when she condescends to favour any shoemaker, or other mechanic, with a salute, that he will *kiss fair*, and not take improper liberties." Multitudes of these paragraphs contained inuendos and aspersions far too infamous to allow of their being transferred to our pages; we merely quote as one of the least objectionable,—"*Ladies of Pleasure* have ever been of prodigious service to *conspirators;* not only Catiline, but also the famous Jacques Pierre, and several other contrivers of mischief, have carried on their operations through the medium of a *courtezan.*"

But the newspaper paragraphs were nothing in comparison with the disgraceful manner in which the duchess was treated in the caricatures, in many of which she was figured and exhibited to public view in the shop windows, in indecent postures, accompanied with allusions of the most infamous kind. The Queen, who had all the caricatures on this occasion brought to her, and was extremely amused with the manner in which the opponents of the Court were turned to ridicule, is said to have been much shocked by some of these coarse caricatures against the Duchess of Devonshire, which had been accidentally brought to her among the other political prints. The "canvassing

duchess" figured also in many caricatures of a much less objectionable character. Thus, in one entitled "Wit's Last Stake, or, the cobbling voters and abject canvassers," the duchess is represented seated on Fox's knee, and holding her shoe to be mended by a cobbler,

A GROUP OF CANVASSERS.

for which she is paying his wife with gold; Fox is shaking hands with another voter, who is treated by Sam House with a pot of porter. In others she is represented marching about with troops of canvassing ladies, bearing banners with appropriate mottoes; or practising various arts to convince unwilling voters. In a caricature published immediately after the election, entitled "Every man has his hobby-horse," the successful candidate is carried in triumph by his fair and zealous supporter. Charles Fox may truly be said to have been carried into the House of Commons in 1784 by the Duchess of Devonshire.*

THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE.

* An immense mass of newspaper paragraphs, placards, squibs, songs, &c., relating to this election, with a certain number of

We ought not to pass over another zealous actor in this exciting scene of turbulence, who helped at least to enliven it—the celebrated convivial songster, Captain Morris, whose effusions were unfortunately not always of an unexceptionable character. We shall soon meet with him again as one of the boon companions of the heir apparent. The captain had begun his career as a political songster in the ranks of the Tories, and had composed a bitter song against the Fox and North administration, under the title of "The Coalition Song." His conversion to the other party was probably effected by the example of the Prince of Wales. During the Westminster election of 1784, he was a constant attendant at Fox's convivial parties, for which several of his best political songs were composed, especially one against the King and his young minister Pitt, entitled "The Baby and Nurse," which was enthusiastically called for over and over again at the election dinners; and, oddly enough, while he was himself singing this new song to the Whigs, the Tories were singing his old song against the coalition.

caricatures, were published collectively under the title of a "History of the Westminster Election;" and, although but a selection, they form a large quarto volume in small print. On the whole, these records of party feeling are much more distinguished by scurrility than by wit. The following anecdotes of Fox's personal canvass are related. He and his friends were often subjected to personal insult; but this was one of the charms of electioneering in the olden time.

"Mr. Fox, on his canvass, having accosted a blunt tradesman, whom he solicited for his vote, the man answered, 'I cannot give you my support; I admire your abilities, but d—n your principles!' Mr. Fox smartly replied, 'My friend, I applaud you for your sincerity, but d—n your manners!'"

"Mr. Fox having applied to a saddler in the Haymarket for his vote and interest, the man produced a *halter*, with which, he said, he was ready to oblige him. Mr. Fox replied, 'I return you thanks, my friend, for your intended present; but I should be sorry to deprive you of it, as I presume it must be a *family piece*."

Another song against Pitt, by Captain Morris, was popular during and after the election, under the title of

BILLY'S TOO YOUNG TO DRIVE US.

"If life's a rough journey, as moralists tell,
Englishmen sure made the best on't;
On this spot of earth they bade Liberty dwell,
While slavery holds all the rest on't.
They thought the best solace for labour and care,
Was a state independent and free, sir;
And this thought, though a curse that no tyrant can bear,
Is the *blessing* of you and of me, sir.
Then while through this whirlabout journey we reel,
We 'll keep unabused the best blessing we feel,
And watch ev'ry turn of the politic wheel—
Billy 's too young to drive us.

"The car of Britannia, we all must allow,
Is ready to crack with its load, sir;
And wanting the hand of experience, will now
Most surely break down on the road, sir.
Then must we, poor passengers, quietly wait,
To be crush'd by this mischievous spark, sir?
Who drives *a d—d job* in the carriage of state,
And got up like a thief in the dark, sir.
Then while through this whirlabout, &c.

"They say that his judgment is mellow and pure,
And his principles virtue's own type, sir;
I believe from my soul he 's a son of a ——,
And his judgment more rotten than ripe, sir.
For all that he boasts of, what is it, in truth,
But that mad with ambition and pride, sir,
He 's the vices of age, for the follies of youth,
*And a d—d deal of cunning beside, sir.**
Then while through this whirlabout, &c.

* To explain some parts of this song, it may be necessary to state, that, although very strongly addicted to the bottle, Pitt, who was of a cold phlegmatic disposition, had none of the wild

"The squires, whose reason ne'er reaches a span,
Are all with this prodigy struck, sir;
And cry, 'it 's a crime not to vote for a man
Who 's as chaste as a baby at suck,' sir.

* * *

"It 's true, he 's a pretty good gift of the gab,
And was taught by his dad on a stool, sir;
But though at a speech he 's a bit of a dab,
In the state he 's a bit of a tool, sir.
For Billy's pure love for his country was such,
He agreed to become the cat's paw, sir;
And sits at the helm, while it 's turn'd by the touch
Of a reprobate fiend of the law,* sir.
Then while through this whirlabout," &c.

The Westminster election of 1784 was the most remarkable struggle of the kind that has ever been witnessed in this country, and is an event of importance in the political history of the last century, because it was the only very serious check that the Court met with at this time in its successful attempt to obtain a strong Tory House of Commons. The superior power of the Crown in the legislature, and the political influence of William Pitt, were from this moment firmly established.† The principal measures of the new mi-

habits of the young men of his day, and was held up by the Court as a contrast to the irregularities of Fox and his companions. Two stanzas and a half are omitted.

* An allusion to Lord Thurlow, who was celebrated for his swearing propensities.

† The hostility against Fox at Westminster did not end with the election; the Court party had, from the first, declared their intention of demanding a scrutiny if Fox succeeded, because it was known that, under the circumstances, this would be a long, tedious, and expensive affair. The returning officer acted partially; and, on the demand of Sir Cecil Wray for a scrutiny, refused to make a return. Fox had been elected member for Kirkwall in Scotland, so that he was not hindered from taking his seat in the House; and, after some months' delay, the high-bailiff was not only obliged to return him as member for Westminster, but Fox brought an action against him, and recovered heavy damages.

nisters during the present year (1784) were (with the exception of Pitt's India-bill, a performance so crude that his own friends were obliged to emendate it from beginning to end as it passed through the House, and several acts were subsequently called for to explain it,) of a financial character; and their object was to provide for the debts incurred in the late war by new taxes, or commutations of old ones. A feeble opposition was made to the government plan of taxation, and the public began to cry loudly against the burthens under which they laboured. "Master Billy's Budget" was the burthen of more than one satirical song; and the following lines "On the Taxes," published towards the end of the year, give a tolerably comprehensive view of the various items of which it consisted:—

"Should foreigners, staring at English taxation,
Ask why we still reckon ourselves a *free nation*,
We 'll tell them, we pay for the light of the sun;
For a horse with a saddle—to trot or to run;
For writing our names;—for the flash of a gun;
For the flame of a candle, to cheer the dark night;
For the hole in the house, if it let in the light;
For births, weddings, and deaths; for our selling and buying;
Though some think 'tis hard to pay threepence for dying;
And some poor folks cry out, 'These are Pharaoh-like tricks,
To take such unmerciful tale of our bricks!'
How great in financing our statesmen have been,
From our ribbons, our shoes, and our hats may be seen;
On this side and that, in the air, on the ground,
By act upon act now so firmly we're bound,
One would think there's not room one new impost to put,
From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot.
Like Job, thus John Bull his condition deplores,
Very patient, indeed, and all cover'd with sores."

The opposition, indeed, seemed at this moment to be sunk so low in public opinion, that the patriot's

"occupation" might truly be said to be gone. The serious papers and the burlesque caricatures joined in treating the efforts of the country party with contemptuous derision. The support they derived from the Prince of Wales was the only thing that gave uneasiness; and that provoked the King and Queen to the highest degree. They looked upon Fox with abhorrence as the corruptor of the royal youth; and a caricature, published in May, at the conclusion of the

PRECEPTOR AND PUPIL.

Westminster election, entitled "Preceptor and Pupil," represents the opposition leader, in loathly form, whispering his doctrines into the ear of the sleeping heir to the throne. Fox's friend and ally, the sleepy and inactive Lord North, is figured in another caricature as "Ignavia," — the personification of Sloth. Burke was equally an object of attack to the resentful exultation of his political opponents. His warmth of feeling and his splendid eloquence made

IGNAVIA.

him one of the foremost champions in the desultory warfare which was carried on against the ministerial majorities in the House of Commons; and the caricaturists made war upon his pretended Jesuitism, and even upon his wordiness; and they pictured the writer on the Sublime and Beautiful as a raving demon of sedition, one of the foremost of the followers of the political Satan, who is seen on the other side of the picture smarting under the mortification of his defeat, yet still rallying his dispirited troops, and urging them on to the attack.

SOME OF SATAN'S TROOPS.

The Tories, in their derision, recommended the opposition leaders to turn their talents to more profitable labours; a ballad, addressed to their leader, in October, and a nearly contemporary caricature* embodying the same sentiment, recommend him to turn his talents to preaching, and, since the sinners had left him in the lurch, to aim at the support of the saints. The various pretences of the opposition, says the song, were quite worn out:—

"Dear Charles, whose eloquence I prize,
To whom my every vote is due,
What shall we now, alas! devise
To cheer our faint desponding crew?

"Well have we fought the hard campaign,
And battled it with all our force;
But self-esteem alone we gain,
Outrun and jockey'd in the course.

* Entitled, "More ways than one; or, the Patriot turn'd Preacher," published on the 2nd of November, 1784.

"Within the Senate, and without,
Our credit fails; th' enlighten'd nation
The boasted Coalition scout,
And hunt us from th' Administration.

"We 've carp'd at this, and carp'd at that,
And who hath heeded what we said?
The House is coy, they smell a rat,—
The time is past, and we are sped.

"And shall we then, like fools, despair?
Can we no thriving scheme invent?
Yes:—let cameleons feed on air,
Such diet will not thee content.

"But why invent? the plan is ready,
Form'd by a wag of late in jest:
Let us adopt it, firm and steady,
And, drowning, clasp it to our breast."

"Fox, the Preacher," occupies the pulpit, and has assumed his most engaging and persuasive looks:—

"Quick let thy soul with *grace* be fill'd!
Expect no other *call* but mine;
With penitence I see thee thrill'd,
With new-born light I see thee shine.

"I see *subscribers* throng around,
(Can Brooks's e'er supply such prizes?)
The pious *bleed*—and from the ground,
Behold a *Tabernacle* rises!"

The sleek and good-humoured North is placed in the seat below:—

"How spruce will North beneath thee sit!
With joy officiate as thy clerk!
Attune the hymn, renounce his wit,
And carol like the morning lark!

"Or, if thy potent length of prayer,
By chance induce a kindly doze,
Wake in the nick with accent clear,
To cry, amen! and bless the close!"

Sheridan, who now shone as one of the opposition leaders, is to act as pew-keeper:—

"To *comic* Richard, ever true,
Be it assign'd the curs to lash,
With ready hand to ope the pew,
With ready hand to take the cash."

"MISTRESS" BURKE.

Burke puts on the garb of feminine devotion, and leads in the harmonious chorus:—

"For thee, *O beauteous and sublime!*
What place of honour shall we find?
To tempt with money were a crime;
Thine are the riches of the mind.

"Clad in a matron's cap and robe,
Thou shalt assist each *wither'd crone!*
And, as the piercing threat shall probe,
Be 't thine to lead the choral groan!

"Thine to uplift the whiten'd eye,
And thine to spread th' uplifted hand!
Thine to upheave th' expressive sigh,
And regulate the *hoary band!*"

Such a plan as this, it was represented, could not fail to be profitable to the ranks of the defeated opposition, and might raise up in another sphere those whose ambition seemed for ever disappointed in the arena of politics:—

"Dear Charles, with speed this plan essay,
On dreams of power no longer muse;
For, faith! thou 'rt in a piteous way,
And not a moment hast to lose!"

CHAPTER XI.

GEORGE III.

LOW STATE OF THE OPPOSITION.—CARICATURES AGAINST FOX AND HIS COLLEAGUES.—THE PROBATIONARY ODES.—IRELAND; GRATTAN AND FLOOD.—THE FORTIFICATION SCHEME.—INDIA; WARREN HASTINGS; THE IMPEACHMENT.—THE PRINCE OF WALES; ROYAL PARSIMONY AND ROYAL EXTRAVAGANCE.—THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS.—MINISTERIAL CORRUPTION; ANTIPATHY OF PARTIES; THE INSTALLATION SUPPER.—FIRST INDISPOSITION OF THE KING; THE REGENCY BILL.

THE consequences of the defeat of the liberal party in the elections of 1784 were very apparent in the Parliamentary session of 1785, and are best described in a few words of Horace Walpole, written on the 2nd of February:—"The Parliament," he says, "is met, but as quietly as a quarter-session; the opposition seems quelled, or to despair." Rarely, indeed, has so entire a change in popular feeling been effected in so short a space of time; but, like all sudden changes, it was not long before it began to experience a gradual reaction. Under the absurd persecution of the Westminster scrutiny, the popularity of Charles Fox was already beginning to revive; and the proud and scornful bearing of the young minister were not calculated to conciliate people's esteem. When, at the beginning of April, the scrutiny ended in favour of Fox, the defeat of the Court was celebrated by a general illumination on two successive nights, attended with some rioting.

The overbearing temper of the minister on one side, and the mortification of the opposition on the other, caused the debates in the House of Commons during the present session to degenerate much more than was usual into attacks and recriminations of a personal character. On the 9th of February, 1785, when Fox complained in sufficiently gentle terms of the Westminster scrutiny as an act of persecution against himself, Pitt, turning up his nose with more than usual scorn, (a characteristic of the orator which is never forgotten in the caricatures in which he figures,) fell upon his rival in the following insulting language:—"I am not surprised if he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate himself in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited. For it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and to offer themselves to persecution for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men. It becomes worth their while to suffer, for a time, political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonization that awaits the suffering martyr; and, I make no doubt, the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and at the same time so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity." Such scenes were of frequent occurrence. On one occasion, the 9th of March, when the same subject was in debate, Fox broke into an ironical commendation of the present Parliament, a

large portion of which consisted of new faces that had never been in the House before.* He said, that he highly approved of their general conduct, although they had been "called together by an unfortunate political delusion." "They were gentlemen with whom he was entirely unacquainted, men whose faces were unknown to any person; but, *emerged from obscurity* as they had, he was happy to find that they possessed great candour and impartiality." Pitt replied in rather an angry tone, which led to another violent altercation.

CATILINE REPREHENDED.

A scene of this description was the foundation of a print by Sayer, published on the 17th of March, under the title, "Cicero in Catilinam." The leader of the opposition, in the character of Catiline, is represented as seated on the opposition benches quailing beneath the eloquent invective of the political Cicero, Pitt. Lord North is seated by his colleague, his face concealed in a bundle of papers in which his attention appears to be absorbed. In another caricature, by the same artist, the two leaders (Fox and North) are represented blowing up the fire of opposition and discontent, fed by a host of petititions, &c., to burn the

* No less than a hundred and eighty of Fox's ordinary supporters had been thrown out in the election of 1784, and replaced by new members, who had not been in the house before. The rejected candidates received the popular appellation of *Fox's Martyrs*.

Irish emblem of the harp, and the ministers' "Propositions" relating to the sister isle. A few days before (April 6), Sayer had represented the eloquent but rather discursive Burke, setting the House asleep by the length of his perpetual invectives against ministers. He is supported on the shoulders of two of the most active members of the opposition in the present Parliament—Powis and Sawbridge—the former holding in his hand a bundle of papers inscribed "Memoranda of important observations for reform in the representation, &c." The print is entitled "* * * * (Burke) on the Sublime and Beautiful," alluding to the celebrated work published by the orator before he had become distinguished as a statesman. In another larger print by Sayer, published on the 7th of June, the opposition are joining their strength to get up a concert. Fox and one of his colleagues are practising on the fiddle; the former treading the music of "God save the King" under his foot. The Duke of Portland is occupied with the piano; Burke plays the trumpet; North performs upon the trombone; the Earl of Derby figures with the pipe and tabor; and so on with the rest, not omitting the celebrated parliamentary dog which joins its howl with the general concert. Against the wall hangs a pair of bagpipes, the representative of Lord Loughborough. The portrait of the Prince of Wales

PRACTITIONERS.

is suspended behind, with a large picture on each side, representing, in one, Fox exhibiting a dancing bear, and in the other, North playing the pipe to three dancing dogs, while Fox is teaching a hare to beat the tabor. On the chimney-piece lie the "Probationary Odes for the Laureateship," and the "Rolliad," and the "Critique on the Rolliad," witty satires against the ministers, which had just been published, the work of some young aristocratic poets of talent, but too minute in their personal allusions to have much interest at the present day.* The "Probationary Odes" were especially clever; the vacancy in the laureateship was supposed to have called forth a host of candidates in rivalry of Thomas Warton (who succeeded to it), and each of his Majesty's ministers enters into the competition, and contributes an ode more or less characteristic of himself, or descriptive of his political conduct. First in the list of candidates stands Sir Cecil Wray, who appears by the election squibs of the preceding year, to have been guilty of some attempts at poetry, and who now takes a magnificent flight in the regions of namby-pamby. After a

† Horace Walpole writes on the 30th of October, "As to your little knot of poets... we have at present here a most incomparable set, not exactly known by their names, but who, till the dead of summer, kept the town in a roar, and, I suppose, will revive by the meeting of Parliament. They have poured forth a torrent of odes, epigrams, and part of an imaginary epic poem, called the 'Rolliad,' with a commentary and notes, that is as good as the 'Dispensary' and 'Dunciad,' with more ease. These poems are all anti-ministerial, and the authors very young men, and little known or heard of before. I would send them, but you would want too many keys: and, indeed, I want some myself; for, as there are continually allusions to parliamentary speeches and events, they are often obscure to me till I get them explained." The principal writers of these satires were, we are told, Mr. Ellis, a lawyer named Lawrence, Colonel R. Fitzpatrick, and John Townshend, second son of George Viscount Townshend.

somewhat magniloquent exordium, he goes on to flatter the King,—

" Yes, Joe and I
Are em'lous !—Why ?
It is because, great Cæsar, you are clever—
Therefore we 'd sing of you for ever !
Sing—sing—sing—sing—
God save the King !
Smile then, Cæsar, smile on Wray !
Crown at last his *poll* with bay !—
Come, oh ! bay, and with thee bring
Salary, illustrious thing !—
Laurels vain of Covent Garden,
I don't value you a farding.
Let sack my soul cheer,
For 'tis sick of small beer !
Cæsar ! Cæsar ! give it !—do !—
Great Cæsar, giv 't all !—for my muse 'doreth you ! "

After being rapt for a while in the poetical contemplation of his own grandeur, he ends by a sublime threat against the presumption of his rival—

" Yet if the laurel prize,
Dearer than my eyes,
Cursed Warton tries
For to surprise,
By the eternal God, I 'll *scrutinize* ! "

A number of candidates of obscurer name follow. Michael Angelo Taylor, who had obtained the nickname of "the Chicken," stands forth as "a chicken of the Muse," and rejoices in the figure he makes in the House,—

" Lo ! how I shine, St. Stephen's boast !
There, first of *chicks*, I rule the *roast* !
There I appear,
Pitt's *Chanticleer*,

The *bantam-cock* to oppositions!
Or like a *hen*,
With watchful ken,
Sit close and watch—the Irish propositions!"

These minor constellations are all thrown into the shade by the appearance of the Scot, Dundas,—

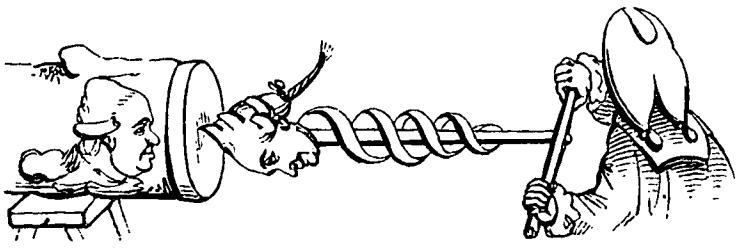
"Hoot! hoot awaw!
Hoot! hoot awaw!
Ye Lawland bards! wha' are ye aw?
What are your sangs? what aw your lair to boot?
Vain are your thooghts the prize to win,
Sae dight your gobs, and stint your senseless din;
Hoot! hoot awâw! hoot! hoot!
Put oot aw your attic feires,
Burn your lutes, and brek your leyres;
A looder and a looder note I 'll streike:—
Na watter drawghts fra Helicon I heed,
Na wull I mount your winged steed,—
I 'll mount the Hanoverian horse, and ride him whare I leike!"

Among candidates of higher note comes the profane-swearing chancellor, of whose ode the exordium, as being the least outrageous portion, may serve as a specimen.

"Damnation seize ye all,
Who puff, who thrum, who bawl and squall!
Fired with ambitious hopes in vain,
The wreath, that blooms for other brows, to gain.
Is Thurlow yet so little known?
By G—d! I swore, while George shall reign,
The Seals, in spite of changes, to retain,
Nor quit the woolsack till he quits the throne.
And now, the bays for life to wear,
Once more, with mightier oaths, by G—d, I swear;
Bend my black brows, that keep the peers in awe,
Shake my full-bottom wig, and give the nod of law."

In the conclusion, the chancellor's ode loses itself in a magnificent phalanx of wild comminations against

"the factious crew" collectively and individually. Among the especial objects of his hostility are Lord Loughborough, whose ambitious eye was fixed upon the woolsack—"D—n Loughborough! my plague,—would his *bagpipe* were split." Lord Loughborough was regarded as the leader of the opposition in the House of Lords, and as the inciter and backer of Lord Stormont, who also was now a bitter opponent of the ministry. On the 30th of July, 1785, a discussion arose on the Irish Propositions, in which Stormont (for himself and Lord Loughborough, who was absent,) threw some obstacle in the way of the arrangements proposed by Lord Sydney, the secretary for Home Affairs. Next day (July 1) appeared a caricature by Sayer, in which "yesterday's business" is represented in the light of "boring a secretary of State." Lord Loughborough, whose face is turned away, is represented as using his instrument, Lord Stormont, to bore Lord Sydney, who appears as a



A BORE.

piece of timber, with two knots, inscribed "1st Proposition" and "2nd Proposition."

Among the difficult questions with which the new ministry had to contend, the state of Ireland was by no means the least. The discontented inhabitants of the sister isle, amongst whom agitation had been more or less actively at work since the beginning of the

century, had watched the progress of the American insurrection with interest, and shewed a great inclination to follow the example. The clamour for free-trade and exemption from duties had drawn concessions even from Lord North; and a caricature published in 1780, represents Hibernia, with the acquisition of her free-trade, exposed to the cajolery and flattery of a host of foreign suitors, who demand an entrance into her ports. In 1782, Grattan received from the Irish Parliament a very handsome grant, in consideration of his exertions in securing its independence. Grattan continued to shine conspicuously among the Irish patriots for many years; but his patriotism was not of the ultra-violent character which was now alone gaining credit among the Irish democrats, who began to rebel even against their own legislators. The leader of these ultra-patriots was the celebrated Henry Flood, Grattan's rival and opponent. Delegates of this party were chosen throughout Ireland, and held a sort of national convention in Dublin, which began by demanding a radical reform of their own Parliament, and urged their countrymen to arm for the purpose of obtaining it. Flood, who, like Grattan, was a member of the Parliament, laid their complaints and demands before the legislative assembly; but they were rejected by large majorities, indignant at the kind of intimida-

GRATTAN.

tion which was held out towards them. The debates were often violent and personal in the highest degree. One of these scenes is represented in a print published in London, on the 25th of November, 1783, in which a violently caricatured portrait of Grattan, copied in the cut above, is represented exposing the principles and designs of the Irish agitator of the day. An equally caricatured figure of Flood, launches as violent an invective against his assailant, as he walks doggedly out of the house. The convention, which afterwards, in still closer imitation of the Americans, took the title of a national congress, continued to hold its ground, and was acknowledged by a large portion of the population of Ireland as the true parliament of the island. There were thus two rival governments existing at the same time. Pitt brought forwards in the session of 1785, as a measure of pacification, his two propositions or provisions, to allow the produce of our colonies to be imported into England through Ireland, and to establish a free trade between Ireland and Great Britain; in return for which advantages Ireland was to contribute a certain annual sum out of her revenue towards the general expenses of the empire. These propositions soon excited the jealousy of the British merchants; and they seem, indeed, in their original form, to have been very defective. The merchants were heard by council in the English Parliament; numerous petitions against the measure were present-

FLOOD.

ed; and it was attacked bitterly in both Houses. The minister was obliged to yield in some degree to the popular feeling, and he modified his measure, and brought it forwards in an entirely new form on the 12th of May. It was these propositions which, in the House of Lords, subjected Lord Sydney to the bore depicted above. Among the foremost to attack them in the House of Lords was Lord George Germaine, who is represented in a caricature by Sayer, backed in the onslaught by Lords Stormont and Derby. Lord George was now in the opposition, and, singularly enough, the court threw into his face the very charges relating to his conduct at the battle of Linden, from which, while he supported King George's measures, he had been so pertinaciously screened. The following verses were at first placed on this caricature; but they were afterwards erased,—

"'Gainst France opposed on Minden's plain,
When Brunswick gave the word—
'Bring all your power, my Lord Germaine;'
The noble lord demurr'd.

"Pitt's propositions now the foe,
He boldly mounts the breach,
Obeys command, and aims a blow
With all his power—of speech!"

In a caricature published by the other party, Pitt is represented in the utmost dismay, riding off to Dublin on a wild Irish bull, to seek shelter from the English mob, to whose execrations he is exposed by his accumulating taxes, and especially that on shops, and that on maid-servants, which had now been carried by Pitt, and was a subject for endless jokes; both had excited great dissatisfaction. This print, which is very coarsely executed, is entitled "Paddy O'Pitt's triumphant exit," and was published on the 20th of June, 1785. People

cried out that Pitt was treating the Irish with undue partiality, while he was crushing Englishmen with insupportable burthens.

It was during this session that Pitt made his last show of attachment to the liberal principles he had so warmly advocated while out of power, by bringing forward a bill for a reform in Parliament; but it was so inefficient a measure, that it was only ridiculed by the opposition, and, as he did not use his own parliamentary influence to support it, it was clear he never intended it should pass. He was ever after a resolute opponent of parliamentary reform, in whatever shape it was presented. In other matters, the young premier met with several slight crosses and disagreements. The foreign policy of his ministry was an object of incessant attack to the liberal opposition; and a plan of national fortifications, brought forward by the Duke of Richmond, who had deserted his old colleagues to take office as master-general of the Ordnance, was an object of great ridicule. After several animated debates, in which the Duke of Richmond's apostacy was said more of than his fortifications, and which shewed how much party spirit entered into the profession of patriotism, on a division, the numbers on both sides of the question were equal, and the government scheme was thrown out by the casting vote of the speaker. This was the subject of several caricatures and squibs, in which the unceremonious extinction of the fortifications by the speaker is made a subject of no little mirth. In a print by Gillray, published in the year following, the Duke of Richmond is made to swallow his own fortifications by another individual, apparently intended to represent Lord Shelburne.

A BITTER DOSE.

The affairs of India had been made doubly prominent by the succession of bills for the regulation of that distant empire,—bills which, as we have seen, underwent so many vicissitudes; and the attention began to be directed rather against individuals who had misgoverned, than to the general subject of misgovernment. Several persons were successively pointed out to popular execration for the tyranny and rapacity they had exercised in different stations of our Indian empire; but at length the whole indignation of the opponents of eastern oppression was concentrated on the person of the governor-general of Bengal, Warren Hastings. The other members of the opposition are said to have been dragged, somewhat unwillingly, by Edmund Burke into the long and tedious proceedings against this man, who, having only done as others had done before him under the same circumstances, and that in the service not only of the company by whom he was employed, but of the English Crown, was not a little astonished, on his return home, to find himself on the eve of being subjected to a state prosecution. The proceedings of the company's servants in India were exactly of that kind which, if made public in this country, where they were only imperfectly under-

stood, could not fail of exciting general indignation, especially when dressed up by a man of ardent imagination, like Burke. The delinquencies of the governor-general had been not unfrequent objects of Burke's declamation, although it was not till the beginning of the year 1786 that he made the open declaration of his design to bring this great offender to justice. He had moved for the production of Indian papers and correspondence as early as the month of February in this year, and on the 4th of April he stood up in the House of Commons to charge Warren Hastings with high crimes and misdemeanours, exhibiting against him nine distinct articles of accusation, which, in a few weeks, were increased to the number of twenty-two. The first charge was brought forward on the 1st of June, and, after a long and warm debate, the House of Commons threw it out as untenable, by a very large majority. On the 13th of June, the second charge, relating to the treatment of the Rajah of Benares, was brought forward; and then an equally large majority declared, "That this charge contained matter of impeachment against the late governor-general of Bengal." Hastings, who was supported by the whole strength of the East India Company, and who was understood to enjoy the King's favourable opinion in a special degree, had calculated on the support of his ministers; and everybody's astonishment was great when they now saw Pitt turn round and join with his enemies. Hastings felt this desertion with great acuteness, and it is said that he never forgave it. Some accounted for it by supposing that Pitt, and more especially Dundas, were jealous of Hastings's personal influence, and feared his rising in Court favour; and a variety of other equally discredit-

able motives were assigned for this extraordinary change.

The return of the ex-governor's wife had preceded his own, and Mrs. Hastings was received at Court with much favour by Queen Charlotte, who was generally believed to be of a very avaricious disposition, and was popularly charged with having sold her favour for Indian presents. The supposed patronage of the Court, and the manner in which it was said to have been obtained, went much further in rendering Hastings an object of popular odium than all the charges alleged against him by Burke, and they were accordingly made the most of by that class of political agitators who are more immediately employed in influencing the mob. At the very moment when the impeachment was pending, a circumstance occurred which seemed to give strength—or, at least, was made to give strength—to the popular suspicions. The Nizam of the Deccan, anxious at this moment to conciliate the friendship of England, had sent King George a valuable diamond of unusual dimensions; and, ignorant of what was going on in the English Parliament, had selected Hastings as the channel through which to transmit it. This peace-offering arrived in England on the 2nd of June, while the first charge against Hastings was pending in the House; and on the 14th of June, the day after the second charge had been decided on by the Commons, the diamond, with a rich bulse or purse, containing the Nizam's letter, were presented by Lord Sydney at a levee, at which Hastings was present. When the story of the diamond got wind, it was tortured into a thousand shapes, and was even spoken of as a serious matter in the House of Commons; and Major Scott,

the intimate friend and zealous champion of Hastings in the House, was obliged to make an explanation in his defence. It was believed that the King had received not one diamond, but a large quantity, and that they were to be the purchase-money of Hastings's acquittal. Caricatures on the subject were to be seen in the window of every print-shop. In one of these Hastings was represented wheeling away in a barrow the King with his crown and sceptre, observing, "What a man buys, he may sell;" and, in another, the King was exhibited on his knees with his mouth wide open, and Warren Hastings pitching diamonds into it. Many other prints, some of them bearing evidence of the style of the best caricaturists of the day, kept up the agitation on this subject. It happened that there was a quack in the town, who pretended to eat stones, and bills of his exhibition were placarded on the walls, headed, in large letters, "The great stone-eater!" The caricaturists took the hint, and drew the King with a diamond between his teeth, and a heap of others before him, with the inscription, "The greatest stone-eater!" Songs and epigrams on the diamond were passed about in all societies, and others, of a less refined character, were sung about the streets, or sold to the populace by itinerant ballad-dealers. One of these, now before me, printed on a slip of coarse paper, with the title, "A full and true account of the wonderfull diamond, presented to the King's Majesty, by Warren Hastings, Esq., on Wednesday the 14th of June, 1786, being an excellent new song, to the tune of Derry down," deserves to be reprinted (with a slight necessary alteration) as a good example of the class of literary productions to which it belongs:—

" I'll sing you a song of a diamond so fine,
That soon in the crown of our monarch will shine;
Of its size and its value the whole country rings,
By Hastings bestow'd on the best of all kings.
Derry down, &c.

" From India this jewel was lately brought o'er,
Though sunk in the sea, it was found on the shore,
And just in the nick to St. James's it got,
Convey'd in a bag by the brave Major Scott.
Derry down, &c.

" Lord Sydney stepp'd forth, when the tidings were known—
It 's his office to carry such news to the throne;—
Though quite out of breath, to the closet he ran,
And stammer'd with joy ere his tale he began.
Derry down, &c.

" ' Here 's a jewel, my liege, there 's none such in the land;
Major Scott, with three bows, put it into my hand;
And he swore, when he gave it, the wise ones were bit,
For it never was shown—to Dundas or to Pitt.'
Derry down, &c.

" ' For Dundas,' cried our sovereign, ' unpolish'd and rough,
Give him a Scotch pebble, it 's more than enough.
And jewels to Pitt Hastings justly refuses,
For he has already more gifts than he uses.'
Derry down, &c.

" ' But run, Jenky, run!' adds the King in delight,
' Bring the queen and the princesses here for a sight;
They never would pardon the negligence shown,
If we kept from their knowledge so glorious a stone.
Derry down, &c.

" ' But guard the door, Jenky, no credit we'll win,
If the prince in a frolic should chance to step in:
The boy to such secrets of state we 'll ne'er call,
Let him wait till he gets our crown, income, and all.'
Derry down, &c.

" In the princesses run, and, surprised, cry, ' O la!
' 'Tis as big as the egg of a pigeon, papa!'
' And a pigeon of plumage worth plucking is he,'
Replies our good monarch, ' who sent it to me.'
Derry down, &c.

" Madam Schwellenberg peep'd through the door at a chink,
And tipp'd on the diamond a sly German wink;
As much as to say, 'Can we ever be cruel
To him who has sent us so glorious a jewel?'
Derry down, &c.

" Now, God save the queen! while the people I teach,
How the king may grow rich, while the Commons impeach;
Then let nabobs go plunder, and rob as they will,
And throw in their diamonds as grist to his mill.
Derry down, &c."

The extreme frugality of the King and Queen in private life, and the meanness which often characterised their dealings, had already become subjects of popular satire, and contrasted strongly with the reckless extravagance of the Prince of Wales. This became still more generally a subject of conversation, when, in the session of 1786, an application was made to the House of Commons for a large sum of money to clear off the King's debts, which in spite of the now enormous civil list, he had latterly incurred. As there was no visible outlet by which so much money could have disappeared, people soon made a variety of surmises to account for King George's heavy expenditure; some said that the money was spent privately in corrupting Englishmen to pave the way to arbitrary power, and most people believed that their monarch was making large savings out of the public money, and hoarding it up either here or at Hanover. It was said that the royal pair were so greedy in the acquisition of money, that they condescended to make a profit by farming; and the royal farmer and his wife figured about rather extensively in prints and songs. In these the royal pair are represented as haggling with their tradesmen, and cheapen-

ing their merchandise. Pictures represented them as visiting the shops at Windsor, to make their bargains in person.

FARMER GEORGE AND HIS WIFE.

Carlton House, as has just been observed, presented a very different scene, for the Prince of Wales seemed ambitious only of taking the lead in every wild extravagance and fashionable vice that characterized the age in which he lived. With the tradition of the family feuds, which seemed inseparable from the history of the princes of the House of Brunswick, the prince was on very bad terms with the King, his father, and more especially with the Queen. They disliked him because he was profligate; they disliked his politics, and they disliked him still more because he took for his companions the very men towards whom King George nourished the greatest aversion. In 1783, when the coalition ministry was in power, and the prince had just come of age, the ministers proposed that he should have a settlement of a hundred thousand a-year; but the King insisted on allowing him no more than fifty thousand, making him dependent on his bounty for the surplus. From this moment

the prince became the inseparable friend and companion of Charles Fox, and among his principal associates were Sheridan and Lord North. The King and Queen were further irritated by the report of the prince's private marriage—which, of course, could not be a legal one—with Mrs. Fitzherbert. This was a sore subject at Court; and even Pitt was encouraged to look at the prince with some sort of disdain. The ministerial writers were by no means sparing in their allusions, and the failings of the heir-apparent were laid open to the public in frequent paragraphs in the newspapers. As might be expected, the prince was rapidly involving himself in debt, and his difficulties had become so great in the summer of 1786, that he found it necessary to apply to the King for assistance; but he met with a peremptory refusal. In his distress, the Duke of Orleans, proverbial for his immense riches and for his dissipation, who had been in England as Duke of Chartres in 1783 and 1784, and had then formed a close intimacy with the Prince of Wales, and who was now again on a visit to this country, offered his assistance, and the prince appears to have been only prevented by the earnest expostulations of some of his private friends from borrowing a large sum of money of the French prince to relieve himself.

When he found that no assistance was to be expected from the King, the Prince of Wales determined to make a show of magnanimity, and adopted the resolution of suppressing his household establishment, and retiring into a life of strict economy. The works at Carlton House were stopped, the state apartments shut up, and his race-horses, hunters, and even his coach-horses, were sold by public auction. He at the same

time vested forty thousand a-year—the greater part of his income — for the payment of his debts. The prince's friends, and a large portion even of the populace—for, in spite of his irregularities, the prince was at this time far from unpopular,—trumpeted him forth as the model of honesty and noble self-denial. But the King was highly displeased, and the prince's conduct was represented at Court as a mere peevish exhibition of spleen, and as an attempt to make the King and his ministers unpopular. The press—that portion of it which was under government influence — published forth the prince's failings in an indecent manner; his riotous life, his connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and all his promiscuous amours, were commented upon, and represented in not very decorous prints and caricatures, which again were imitated in others of a far more vulgar character. The supposed alliance with Mrs. Fitzherbert was more especially an object of pictorial scandal; the prejudices of the mob were worked upon by representations of the danger which threatened the constitution from the marriage of the heir-apparent with a Catholic, which was represented as being the work of Fox and Sheridan. Burke, under the character of a Jesuit, was seen officiating at the marriage, and blessing the union. The alleged poverty of the prince, it was said, had not put a stop to his riotous living, and his doings at Brighton during the autumn—for Brighton was already his favourite place of residence — were not overlooked. In one print, said to be by Gillray, the party at Brighton are pictured (in allusion to the prince's circumstances) as "The Jovial Crew; or, Merry Beggars." The prince's companions are Mrs. Fitzherbert, Fox, Sheridan, Burke, Lord North, Captain Morris, and two others.

Several other well-executed engravings, undoubtedly by Gillray, embody severe attacks on the prince and his friends. One, published on the 1st of November, 1786, and entitled "Non-commission officers embarking for Botany Bay," represents the same party, with the exception of the lady, setting out in a boat for the newly-established penal settlement. The prince is here seated on a butt of "imperial tokay;" and Burke is equipped in a bishop's mitre. A sequel to this, published on the 16th of November, is entitled "Landing at Botany Bay." The prince and his party are now arrived at their destina-

LANDING AT BOTANY BAY

tion. A man who takes the lead carries a standard inscribed, "The Majesty of the People." He is followed by Burke, with his mitre and pastoral staff, who reads the service from the Newgate Calendar. Captain Morris comes next, with the legs and lower extremities of a goat. The prince is carried on shore on the shoulders of two convicts, supported on each side by Fox and North, the former equipped in armour. The ship which had borne them over the ocean is entitled the "Coalition Transport—C^{t} Morris, Commander."

Captain Morris was now the constant attendant on

the prince's revelry, which he enlivened by his songs and by his wit. Both, it is hardly necessary to say, were too often of a licentious description; but the captain's minstrelsy deserved the reputation it enjoyed among his contemporaries. He was the best song-writer of his day, and many of his effusions have been thrown into unmerited oblivion. At the time of which we are now speaking, in the first struggles between Whigs and Tories under the ministerial dictatorship of William Pitt, he composed more political songs than at any other period. The above portrait is taken from a sketch by Gillray, in 1790, and represents the minstrel in the moment of joviality.

CAPTAIN MORRIS.

THE PRODIGAL SON.

Amongst other caricatures against the prince was

one published on the 18th of January, 1787, in which he is represented in the character of the prodigal son, compelled to tend upon and associate with swine. Near him are the "prince's feathers," thrown into the dirt; and the inscription on his garter is reduced to the word "*honi.*" Amid the shoal of such caricatures, of which the Prince of Wales was at this period made the butt, those published in his defence, or, rather, against his alleged persecutors, were comparatively few, and not very remarkable. But there is a large and rare print, published in 1786, and understood to be a work of Gillray (who not unfrequently worked for both sides of the question), entitled "A New Way to pay the National Debt." The King and Queen, attended by their band of pensioners, are issuing from the Treasury gateway, all so laden with money that it is rolling out of their pockets. Pitt, nevertheless, is adding large bags of the national revenue to the royal stores, to the very evident joy of their majesties. On the wall, on this side of the picture, are several torn placards, one entitled "Charity, a romance;" another contains the commencement of "God save the King." One, that is not torn, has the announcement, "From Germany, just arrived, a large and royal assortment . . . .;" and another professes to contain the "Last dying speech of fifty-four malefactors executed for robbing of a hen-roost;" an allusion to the severity with which the most trifling depredators on the King's private farm were prosecuted. Beneath them is seated a crippled soldier, seeking in vain for relief. On the other side of the picture, a little in the background, we see the prince, all tattered and torn, left by his father in poverty, and receiving the offer of a check for two hundred thousand pounds from a foreigner, the

courtly Duke of Orleans. Behind them, the walls are also placarded. On one bill we read, "Œconomy, an old song;" on another, "British property, a farce;" on a third, "Just published, for the benefit of posterity, The dying groans of liberty;" and two torn bills immediately over the prince's head bear, one, the prince's feathers, with the altered motto, "Ich starve;" the other, two hands joined, with the word "Orleans" underneath. This bitterly satirical picture is stated to be "design'd by Helogabalis," and "executed by Sejanus." The allusions are sufficiently obvious.

POVERTY RELIEVED.

After the prince had carried on his economical project some months, finding that it had little effect upon the court, he agreed with his confidential advisers that the subject should be laid before the House of Commons. This was accordingly done on the 20th of April, 1787, by Alderman Newnham, who gave notice of a motion for an address to the King, praying him to take the situation of the prince into consideration, and to grant him such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit. This proceeding appears to have thrown the court into great embarrassment. On the 24th, Pitt brought up the question again, declaring that the prince would receive no assistance from the government; pressed Newnham to drop his intended motion; and held out a threat that if he did so, he (Pitt) should be driven to the disclosure of circumstances which he

should have thought it otherwise his duty to conceal. On the 27th, Alderman Newnham acquainted the House with the purport of his intended motion; on which Mr. Rolle, the member for Devonshire, a pertinacious supporter of all the measures of the court, and the hero of the very remarkable satire entitled "The Rolliad" (already mentioned), spoke against the introduction of such a motion, declaring that the question involved matter tending immediately to affect the constitution in church and state. This was understood to refer to the rumoured marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. Pitt supported Rolle, and again talked of the delicate investigation which he wished to avoid. On this, the prince's friends, Sheridan and Fox, fired up, and a warm debate ensued, in the course of which Fox and Sheridan denied that the prince was married to Mrs. Fitzherbert; a declaration which was never believed by the mass of the people. They declared, moreover, that the prince was ready to submit to any investigation, and that the motion should be persevered in. This statement had its desired effect; the ministry determined not to expose themselves to the inconveniences that might arise from the discussion of the motion itself, and, by the King's desire, Pitt had an interview with the Prince of Wales, who consented that the motion should be withdrawn on the express promise that everything should be settled to his royal highness's satisfaction. On the 24th of May, the House of Commons agreed to an address to the King to allow the prince a hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds out of the civil list, to defray his debts, and twenty thousand pounds to complete the works at Carlton House, it being understood that he had promised to refrain from contracting debts in future.

Thus ended, not very much to the credit of any party, an affair which for some months had drawn public attention from other matters.* The prince and his friends had sacrificed the character of Mrs. Fitzherbert, much, as it was said, to her indignation; and several pamphlets were published, one by Horne Tooke, vindicating her honour from the blot it had sustained from the light in which her connection with the Prince of Wales was placed by the declarations of his friends in the House of Commons.

With the parliamentary session of 1787, Burke recommenced his attack upon Warren Hastings. Pitt had already acknowledged that the second charge involved sufficient grounds for an accusation; and when, on the 7th of February, this second charge, relating to the spoliation of the Begum, or Princess, of Oude, had been brought forwards in the wonderful speech of Sheridan, admired equally for its length, its perspicuity, and its poetry,—by which, no doubt, the sins of the governor-general were clothed in intensely exaggerated horror,—in the adjourned debate on the following night, the premier declared his full conviction of the criminality of the accused; and charge after charge was now carried against him, until at the end of the session it was resolved that ulterior proceedings

* On the 2nd of August, 1786, when the prince's affairs were first in agitation, and soon after the reduction of his domestic establishment, occurred the very feeble attempt to assassinate the King, made by a mad woman, Margaret Nicholson. It was made the utmost use of by the ministers to strengthen themselves and the Crown, and addresses of congratulation were got up from every corner of the kingdom, to a degree that had never been witnessed before. The King was so much offended at the prince, that he did not allow any communication to be made to him on the subject; and when the latter repaired to Windsor, to give his personal congratulations on the escape, it is said that the King refused to admit him to his presence.

should be immediately commenced. On the 10th of May, Burke accordingly repaired to the bar of the House of Lords, and, in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain, impeached Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors, at the same time announcing that the Commons would with all convenient speed exhibit articles against him.

The trial of Warren Hastings took place in Westminster Hall, which was fitted up for the occasion with great magnificence, and commenced on the 15th of February, 1788. Burke's preliminary speech occupied four days, and produced an extraordinary effect on all his hearers. The Benares charge, and that relating to the Begums of Oude, were proceeded with in February and April. The proceedings, as a matter of course, closed with the session of Parliament. Domestic events at home, and, after them, still more extraordinary events abroad, came to retard the progress of the impeachment. The dissolution of Parliament in 1790, while the trial was still pending, created a further embarrassment; the parties originally united in the prosecution broke up their mutual friendship; the public indignation, which at first they had so effectively stirred up, gradually cooled, or was turned off into other channels,—and, after dragging on feebly through several subsequent years, it ended in the April of 1795 by an acquittal on all the charges.

The party in Parliament, who were believed to represent the King's private feelings, and especially the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, had defended Hastings throughout his trial,—thus leaving no doubt of the royal sentiments. It is difficult to assign any very plausible motives for the part acted by Pitt, and

Gillray del

THE POLITICAL BANDITTI ASSAILING THE SAVIOUR OF INDIA

London Richard Bentley 1848

especially for his sudden change at the commencement of the trial; but it is a very remarkable circumstance that, of the two great political caricaturists, while Gillray (who first took part with Hastings) changed with the minister, and subsequently published caricatures against him, Sayer, although notoriously patronized by Pitt, continued to the end to ridicule the accusers. Some of the earlier works of the latter artist on this subject are too minute in their allusions to interest us much at the present day.

On the 11th of May, 1786, Gillray published one of the best of his earlier prints, under the title of "The political banditti assaulting the saviour of India," in which Warren Hastings is represented as defending himself with the shield of honour against Burke, who fires a blunderbuss at him in front, while Fox is attacking him with a dagger from behind. Lord North, in the mean time, is robbing him of some of his money-bags. The supporters of the impeachment represented Hastings as another Verres, called upon by the modern Cicero to answer for his

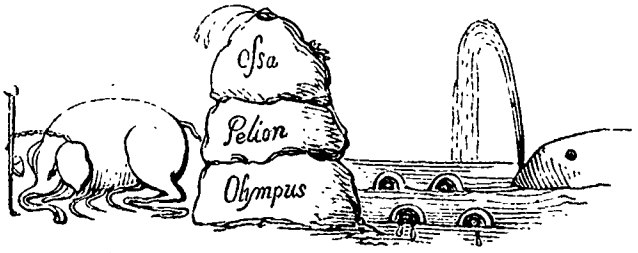
A MODERN CICERO AGAINST VERRES.

oppressive government of the provinces entrusted to his care. A bold sketch of the orator was published

on the 7th of February, 1787,—the day on which proceedings against Hastings were resumed in the House of Commons,—under the title of "Cicero against Verres." Fox and North are seen behind the eloquent accuser. In 1788, the year of the impeachment, the caricatures on this subject became more numerous. One by Gillray, published on the 1st of March, under the title of "Blood on Thunder fording the Red Sea," represents Hastings carried in safety on the shoulders of the Lord Chancellor Thurlow through a sea of blood, strewed with the bodies of mangled Indians. In another print by Gillray, entitled "A Dish of Mutton-chops," the head of King George is served on a dish at a table, round which sit Pitt, Hastings, and Thurlow; the premier is eating the tongue, while Hastings is employed in picking out the eyes, and the chancellor devours the brains. Among those published by Sayer at this period were, 1. a print, published on the 11th of April, entitled, "The Managers in distress, in which Burke, Fox, and his fellow-accusers are thrown from the bridge they designed to pass over, owing to the giving way of the piers. Fox exclaims, "D—n the piers, they won't support us!" 2. "The first Charge," published on the 14th of April, and relating to a rather frivolous article of accusation, that an Indian prince had been deprived of his hookah, or pipe, and so hindered from

BLOOD ON THUNDER.

smoking. The accuser (Burke), with one of his most energetic gestures, eloquently appeals to the feelings of his audience—"Guilty of not suffering him to smoke for—two days!" 3. One published on the 26th of April, under the title of "A Reverie," an allusion to some curious information produced by Burke relating to the private history of the Begum or princess. 4. "The Princess's Bow, alias the Bow Begum," published on the 1st of May, and representing the eastern princess seated, and receiving the homage of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan; beneath her seat we perceive the face of Sir Philip Francis, the bitter personal enemy of Hastings, and the prompter in many of the proceedings against him: he says, "I am at the bottom of all this!" On the wall above hangs a picture, illustrative of the old saying, "*Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*" 5. "The Galante Show," published on the 6th of May. This is the best of the set; it represents Burke as the showman, exhibiting, by means of a magic-lantern, the magnified figures of different objects on the wall. The objects are, "A Benares Flea," which takes the form of an elephant; a begum wart, as large as Olympus, Pelion, and Ossa piled one on the other; "Begum's Tears,"



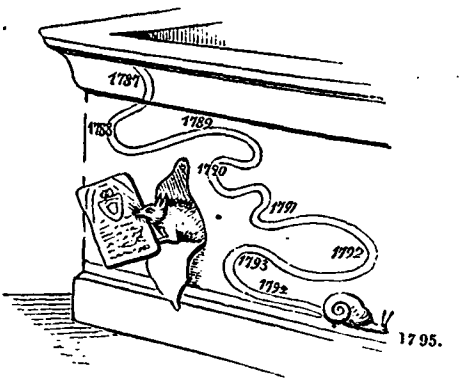
OBJECTS MAGNIFIED.

of proportionate dimensions; and "an ouzle," which appears in the semblance of a whale. The spectators

are delighted with the exhibition; one remarks that the objects are "finely magnified;" another exclaims with poignant feelings, on observing the dimensions of the tears, "Poor ladies—they have cried their eyes out!" a third, evidently intended to represent Lord Derby, remarks, that the last object is "very like an ouzle."

In 1795, at the end of the trial, Sayer published a large print, entitled "The last scene of the manager's farce," in which the bust of Warren Hastings is represented rising pure from the black clouds of calumny with which it had been obscured, and now surrounded with a halo of glory. Above are two figures in the characters of good and bad angels, Thurlow and Loughborough, the former declaring, "Not black, upon my honour!" the latter, "Black, upon my honour!" The clouds of darkness are rising from a cauldron, filled with the various charges as so many poisonous ingredients, more of which are in the hand of the conjuror (Burke), who is described as "one of the managers and a principal performer; who, having out-Heroded Herod, retires from the stage in a passion at seeing the farce likely to be damned." The conjuror and his cauldron are sinking through trap-doors in the stage; the latter is inscribed with the words, "*Exit in fumo.*" Fox appears in the manager's box as "another manager, a great actor, very anxious about the fate of the farce." Behind him are several "other managers, very well dressed, but not very capital performers, some of them tired of acting." The face of Sir Philip Francis is seen peeping from behind a scene—"the prompter, no character in the farce, but very useful behind the scenes." The manager's box is old and torn; a rat

has made its way through the crevices, and holds in its mouth one of the tickets of admission to the trial in Wesminster Hall; and a snail, gradually crawling its slow course through year after year, 1787, 1788, 1789, and so on to 1795, represents the dull progress of this tiresome impeachment. Beneath the stage we have a glance of the evil one in a warm place, designated as "a court below, to which the managers retire upon quitting the stage." Satan mutters the rhyme,—



A SNAIL'S PROGRESS.

> "By the pricking of my thumbs,
> Something wicked this way comes!"

The trial of Warren Hastings was indeed, in its result, a farce, and an expensive one; but, perhaps, like many other such farces, which have little utility in themselves, it was the cause of the reformation of much evil, and led the way to a more enlightened and just policy with respect to our eastern empire.

The proceedings against Warren Hastings were the only subject that produced much excitement during the spring and summer of the year 1788. The ministers continued to carry all their measures by large majorities, or without division; and the opposition in the house was reduced almost to an opposition of words. Out of Parliament, however, the feeling of discontent at this state of things was gaining ground.

upon the strong reaction which had taken place at the beginning of Pitt's reign, and the subject of parliamentary reform, which had been driven out of the House of Commons, was in public canvassed more and more every day. The more general publication of the debates in Parliament fostered the liberal spirit, and gave the speeches of the opposition a weight out of doors which they seemed no longer to possess within. The accusations against the court and ministers, of purchasing power by corrupt means were repeated more extensively, and it was commonly believed that no small portion of the burthensome civil list was expended for this purpose. A clever caricature by Gillray was published on the 2nd of May, 1788, under the title of "Market-Day—every man has his price;" in which the ministerial supporters are represented as horned-cattle exposed for sale. The scene is laid in Smithfield; and the dark, scowling figure of Chancellor Thurlow, as the state farmer, stands forth as the principal purchaser. At the window of a public-house adjoining appear Pitt and Dundas, a jovial pair, drinking and smoking, as if almost regardless of the scene. Hastings is riding off with the King, in the guise of a calf, which he has purchased; the influence of Indian money and diamonds on the palace was an article of universal belief. Fox, Burke, and Sheridan are thrown from a sort of van, on which they were driving, by the overwhelming rush of the cattle.

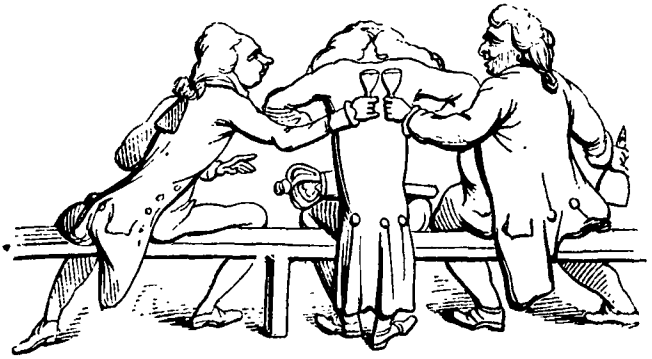
A BUYER OF CATTLE.

The appointment of Lord Hood in the beginning of July to a place at the board of Admiralty, rendered necessary a new election for the city of Westminster, when that city was contested on the opposition interest by Lord John Townshend. The latter was well supported by his friends and party; and, after an obstinate canvass, the court candidate was thrown out by a very large majority. This was a severe defeat to the ministers, who are said to have used every kind of influence to secure the return of Lord Hood. On the 14th of August, ten days after the close of the poll, the corrupt practices of the ministerial agents on this occasion drew forth from Gillray a caricature with the title, "Election troops bringing in their accounts to the pay-table." A motley assemblage, consisting of newspaper-writers, soldiers, ballad-singers, mob-exciters, false voters, Jews, and a variety of other characters, besiege the door of the Treasury. Among the rest, a worthy disciple of St. Crispin, with the cockade of Lord Hood in his hat, presents a claim "for voting three times;" a practice which appears to have prevailed among this constituency on a large scale.

AN INDEPENDENT VOTER.

It was just at the moment when the proceedings against Warren Hastings absorbed public attention, that Gillray brought out a remarkable caricature, the only object of which appears to have been to bring together, in a sort of unnatural familiarity, the figures of

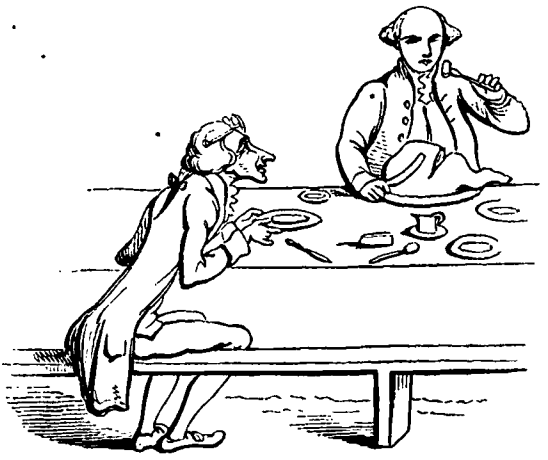
the persons at that moment most strongly contrasted by political antipathies, personal intrigues, or other causes. This print, which is now become one of the rarest of Gillray's works (because probably its form renders it more difficult to preserve from injury,) is entitled "The Installation Supper, as given at the Pantheon by the knights of the Bath, on the 26th of May, 1788." To explain the title, it may be observed that there had been a grand installation of knights of the Bath in Westminster Abbey on the 19th of May; and that the satirist supposes them to have given a supper in consequence. The Pantheon, the well-known scene of Mr. Cornelys's masquerades, had witnessed many assemblies which presented an appearance equally anomalous with that here offered to our view. At a long table, not over-well provided with the good things of this world, the company is distributed in groups of gentlemen and ladies in familiar conversation, generally so selected as to form the greatest outrage upon probability. Near one extremity, the leaders of the two grand political parties, Fox and



FRIENDSHIP BEHIND THE BACK.

Pitt, whose mutual personalities at this time so frequently disturbed the equanimity of the House of

Commons, are quietly hob-nobbing behind the back of the gruff chancellor, Thurlow, while the latter is eagerly employed on the contents of his plate, totally unaware of the singular conciliation that was going on. Almost at the other end of the table sits the ex-governor of India, Warren Hastings, and his lady all bedizened with diamonds. Hastings has appropriated to himself a whole ham; and his antagonist, Burke,



WANT AND ABUNDANCE.

who sits solitary and unserved on the opposite side of the table, is petitioning in vain for a share in the spoil. Others of the remarkable men, and of the remarkable women, are easily recognised. The Duke of Richmond is seen in close conference with his political antagonist, Lord Rawdon. Lord Shelburne shakes hands with Lord Sydney; and Lord Derby is closely engaged in conversation with Lady Mount Edgecumbe, an antiquated member of the *bon-ton*, who still dreamt of conquest. The princes are each seated between a couple of ladies; the Prince of Wales, besieged by Lady Archer (of gambling me-

mory) on his right, and Lady Cecilia Johnson on his left, listlessly picks his teeth with his fork. Next to them

A PRINCE CLOSE BESET.

Mrs. Fitzherbert is conversing in the most amiable familiarity with the ex-patriot, Alderman Wilkes.

Since the arrangement of his debts, and while the unsupported eloquence of the opposition fell harmless upon the all-powerful ministers, the Prince of Wales had become to a certain degree reconciled with his father, and he was received at court; but a few months brought about a new and very serious cause of rupture. On the 11th of July the King had prorogued the Parliament to the 25th of September, and it was thence re-prorogued to the 20th of November. The two Houses met at that time under circumstances of extraordinary embarrassment. As early as the month of July a change was observed in the King's health which gave considerable uneasiness to his physicians, who recommended a progress to Cheltenham, in the hope that he might derive benefit as well from the change of scene as from drinking the mineral waters. The King had at an early period in his reign given some slight indications of a tendency to mental derangement; and that tendency seems to have been confirmed, rather than relieved, by the excitement caused by the enthusiastic greetings with which he

was received in the country through which he had to pass. Early in October, after his return, the symptoms became much more alarming, and by the end of the month the truth began to be whispered abroad, and hints of the insanity of the highest personage in the realm found their way into the newspapers. At length, on the 5th of November, while seated at the dinner-table with his family, the King became suddenly delirious, and from this moment he remained in a state in which he could be communicated with by none but his physicians. The condition of the sovereign was publicly known before the period for the assembly of Parliament, and the greatest anxiety was felt throughout the kingdom. When the two houses met on the 20th of November, they adjourned to the 4th of December, without entering upon business of any kind; on that day a report of the privy council relating to the King's malady was laid on the table, and they adjourned again till the 8th. From this time parliament was occupied in anxious deliberation, without even taking its usual holidays at Christmas.

The two great political parties were suddenly thrown in face of each other under very extraordinary circumstances. It was generally feared that there was no hope of the King's recovery; and the Prince of Wales, as heir-apparent to the throne, being of age, was naturally the person who would be selected, as regent, to exercise the royal authority. Pitt, who was neither personally nor politically the prince's friend, knew well that his nomination to the regency was tantamount to the dismissal of his ministry, and the return of the Whigs under Fox to power. He was anxious, therefore, either to shut the door against him, or, if that could not be done, to restrict as much as possible his

power of action. He hardly condescended to conceal his motives from the world. The opposition, on the other hand, were already exulting in the prospect of place; and Fox, who was on a tour in Italy for the benefit of his health, was hurried home in a condition ill able to bear the fatigue and excitement which awaited him. In their hurry to drive out their opponents, the leaders of the liberal party blindly took up a doctrine which was quite inconsistent with their usual principles, and which probably under other circumstances, they would have combated with the greatest pertinacity; they asserted that the prince, as next heir to the throne, had an inherent right to the regency, and that his right did not depend upon the will of the Parliament; and in defence of this doctrine Fox put forth his eloquence, and Burke his invective. Pitt and the Tories, with equal inconsistency, threw themselves on the most popular principles of the constitution, and asserted that the prince had no more right of himself to assume the government than any other individual in the country; but that the right of providing for the government of the country, in cases where it was thus suddenly interrupted, belonged to the peers and to the nation at large, through its representatives, and was to be regulated entirely by their discretion. It was simply two factions striving for power, neither of which cared to abide by abstract principles as long as these stood in the way of their ambition. The debates were consequently warm, and often personal. Fox, at the commencement, had hastily and rashly used words to the effect that the Prince of Wales possessed the inherent right to assume the government, or, at least, expressions that admitted of that interpretation. Scarcely had the

words escaped his lips, when the features of the proud and stiff premier gave place to an unusual smile, and slapping his thigh with exultation, he exclaimed to a member who was seated next to him, "I 'll un-Whig the gentleman for the rest of his life." During the rest of the debates, he confuted Fox's arguments by asserting the extreme doctrines of the liberal party. Fox's remarks were commented upon in the same spirit by Lord Camden in the House of Lords. On the 12th of December Fox rose in his place in the House of Commons, and recurred to this matter to protest against the construction which had been placed upon his words; he stated, that he did not say that the prince might *assume* the administration in consequence of his Majesty's temporary incapacity, but that the *right of administration* subsisted in him, and the assertion of his having such right to govern, was different from saying that he might assume the reins of government,—he had the right, but not the possession, which latter he could not legally take without the sanction of Parliament,—he might appeal to the two Houses to recognise his claim, in the same manner as persons who are entitled to particular species of property apply, before they take possession, to the proper court for a formal investiture,—the adjudication of his right belonged to the Parliament.

This explanation was far from answering the full purpose for which it was designed; people still looked upon Fox's original declaration as a temporary assertion of ultra-Tory principles to serve an object; and they now accused him of trying to escape the consequences by eating his own words. Among the multitude of caricatures which appeared on this occasion, one represents him under the title of "The Word-eater," ex-

hibiting his skill before the assembled legislature, and holding in his hands his "speech" and his "explanation." It is accompanied with an

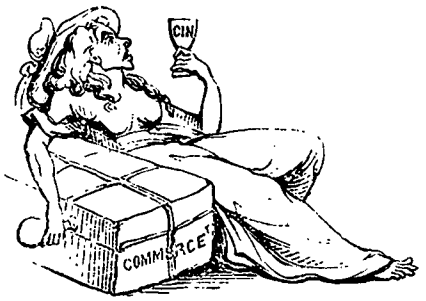
"ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

"This is to inform the public, that this extraordinary phenomenon is just arrived from the Continent, and exhibits every day during the sittings of the House of Commons before a select company. To give a complete detail of his wonderful talents would far exceed the bounds of an advertisement, as indeed they surpass the powers of description. He eats single words and evacuates them so as to have a contrary meaning—for example, of the word *treason* he can make *reason*, and of *reason* he can make *treason*.* He can also eat whole sentences, and will again produce them either with a double, different, or contradictory meaning; and is equally capable of performing the same operation on the largest volumes and libraries. He purposes, in the course of a few months, to exhibit in public for the benefit and amusement of the electors of Westminster, when he will convince his friends of his great abilities in this new art, and will provide himself with weighty arguments for his enemies."

Towards the end of the year, numbers of caricatures were launched out against the adherents of the Prince of Wales, satirizing their eagerness for power, their presumed designs, and the prospects of the country under such a government as the Whigs desired. One of these, entitled "A Touch on the Times," and published on the 29th of December, 1788, appears to have been very popular, as there was, at least, one imitation of it. Britannia is represented as handing the prince to the throne, which her lion seems to bear with anything but equanimity. The foundation step of the throne, on which the prince is placing his foot, is, "The voice of the people;" the second step, "Public safety," is cracked and broken; the emblem of virtue,

* Fox, in one of the debates on this occasion, had accused Pitt of uttering doctrines that were a treason against the constitution.

inscribed on the back of the throne, is a full purse. The prince is backed by a motly group of pretenders to patriotism, who seek to benefit by his accession: one, who carries the ensign of liberty, is purloining the prince's handkerchief from his royal pocket. The genius of commerce sits in the corner, a victim to gin-drinking.



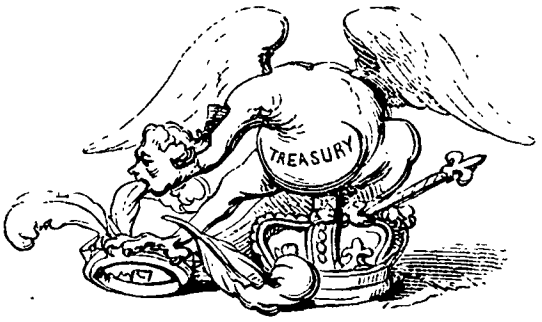
COMMERCE UNDER THE REGENCY.

When the minister had demonstrated by the force of his majorities that the appointment of a regency was a matter which lay entirely at the discretion of Parliament, he next brought forwards a string of resolutions, which, though obstinately opposed, were passed on the 19th of January, and which had the effect of placing the executive in the hands of the Prince of Wales, under restrictions which deprived him of any substantial power, the latter being either placed in abeyance, or given to the Queen, who was Pitt's friend. These resolutions were,—"That as the personal exercise of the Crown is retarded by the illness of his Majesty, the Prince of Wales be requested to take upon himself, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, and in his name, (as a regent,) the execution of all the royalties, functions, and constitutional authorities of the King, under such restrictions

as shall be hereafter mentioned. That the Regent shall be prevented from conferring any honours or additional marks of royal favour, by grants of peerage, to any person, except to those of his Majesty's issue who shall obtain the age of twenty-one. That he shall be prevented from granting any patent place for life, or any reversionary grant of any patent place, other than such as required by law to be for life, and not during pleasure. That the care of his Majesty being to be reposed in her Majesty, the officers of his Majesty's household are to be under the direction of her Majesty, and not subject to the control of the Regent. That the care of his Majesty be reposed in the Queen, to be assisted with a council."

Pitt made no secret that his restrictions were mainly intended to abridge the power that would fall into the hands of what he almost openly designated as a cabal, and the speeches of the ministerial party generally set out on the assumption that the prince could be surrounded by bad advisers. The prince himself was in a very ill-humour with the minister, and held frequent consultations with the opposition. When Pitt communicated to him his intentions, on the 30th of December, his Royal Highness consented to take the regency, but expressed strongly his dissatisfaction at the restrictions, in a letter which is understood to have been written by Sheridan. The general feeling out of doors, except among the staunch adherents of the opposition in Parliament, seems to have been against the prince; but there were a few bitter caricatures on what was looked upon by some as an unnecessary spoliation of the crown which he was virtually to wear. In some of these the prince was represented as a child in

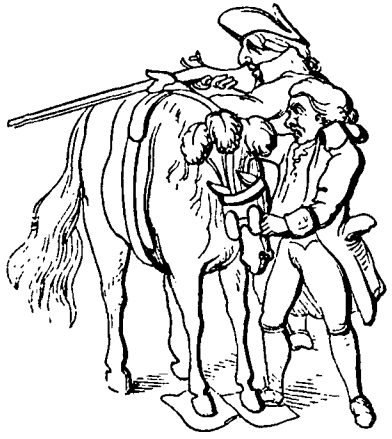
leading-strings, placed under the guidance of William Pitt. In a bold print by Gillray, published on the 3rd January, 1789, the premier is represented as an over-gorged vulture, which has fixed its claw on the throne and sceptre, and is tearing the prince's feathers from his coronet.



THE VULTURE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The more numerous class of caricatures, however, were directed against the party who demanded the unrestricted regency, and the person of the prince was by no means spared, even in publications which were known to come from people who were generally looked upon as acting under the immediate patronage or pay of the government. The private vices and weaknesses of the prince and his companions were again raked up and exhibited to the public. The former they exhibited as a mere tool in the hands of a parcel of political adventurers, who aimed at gratifying their own ambition at the expense of the constitution of their country. The circumstance, soon known, that the prince's letter to Pitt had been written by Sheridan, and shewn for approval to the other Whig leaders, was seized upon as another proof that he was not acting by his own independent judgment. Sayer, who we have already seen was an ultra-

Pittite, and a paid one, represented the heir-apparent under the form of a horse (the old emblem of the family of Hanover), taught by Sheridan to write a letter "to Mr. Pitt," while Lord Derby, as a monkey, is perusing the rough draught. Beneath the table is a rat-trap, in which are captured several political rats. Under it is the announcement, "To be seen at Mr. S——n's (Sheridan's) menagery, the wonderful learned Han—r colt, who writes a letter blindfolded. N.B. He is in training for several other useful purposes. Also, a very curious monkey, who can read and write a little, and imitates the human voice. Also, several very extraordinary rats, from Holland, Buckinghamshire, Milton, and other places." This print was published on the 27th of January, 1789; Sayer had already introduced the Hanoverian colt in a caricature published on the 12th of January, under the title of "A mis-fire at the Constitution." Sheridan is here holding the colt by the head; and Fox, as a bandit, is using it for a screen, while he aims over its back at the British lion, which is holding the rights of the people and supporting the insignia of royalty. Fox's discharge turns out but a flash in the pan. The royal colt is treading underfoot petitions and a vote of thanks to Mr. Pitt from the city of London. Sheridan treads on the "oath of allegiance;" while a number of papers



A CONVENIENT SCREEN.

fall from his pocket, entitled "Paragraphs against the ministers," "Puffs direct for the P——e," "Oblique puffs for the P—— of W——," "Abuse of the ministers." It would appear from this that Sheridan was looked upon as the writer or prompter of a large portion of the newspaper paragraphs in the interest of the prince.

The rats in the caricature first-mentioned allude to a number of little intrigues that were going on behind the curtain, among men who were anxious to secure their interests in the event of the prince ascending the throne. The greatest of political rats was the chancellor, Lord Thurlow. In the conviction that the King was past recovery, he at first held himself aloof under different excuses from the consultations of the Cabinet, and entered into secret communication with the prince, with the view of securing the chancellorship under the regency, to the exclusion of his rival, the Whig Lord Loughborough, who, it was universally understood, was to take the office of lord chancellor whenever his party came into power. The prince's advisers snatched at the prospect of detaching Thurlow from the ministerial party, and gave encouragement to his advances. When Fox arrived from Italy, he found things in this state; and, strongly prejudiced against Thurlow, he was persuaded only with difficulty to use his personal influence in prevailing with Lord Loughborough to waive his claims for the present. The Whigs, however, soon saw reason to be distrustful of Thurlow, and Loughborough was restored to his hopes of the chancellorship. Thurlow, now perceiving that he was losing ground with his own party, and not really gaining ground with the other, and having obtained some rather strong

glimpses of a near prospect of the restoration of the King to his mental faculties, suddenly appeared on the woolsack with all his old zeal for the ministers, and gave his utmost support to Pitt's regency bill.

This bill was brought into the House of Commons on the 5th of February, and it increased the number of restrictions and enumerated them in greater detail. One clause restrained the regent from marrying a Papist, and in committee the zealous Mr. Rolle, still harping upon the old story of Mrs. Fitzherbert, moved to introduce a paragraph, providing that the regent should be incapacitated if he "is or shall be married in law or fact to a Papist." This amendment, though rejected at once, was a fruitful subject of new scandal out of doors. After several very hot debates, the bill passed the Commons on the 12th of February. It had scarcely reached the other House, when the reports of the King's recovery became stronger, and the Lords adjourned from day to day, until the 10th of March, when the complete restoration of the King was officially announced, and the Parliament regularly opened by commission, with a speech from the throne. The regency bill was immediately thrown aside, and the country was relieved from a great embarrassment, which must, under the circumstances, have led to much confusion. One important result of the agitation of the question, was the establishment of a great principle in the constitution, which was thus stamped with the sanction of that party in the state who might have been expected to be most decidedly opposed to it.

The embarrassment of the situation was increased by the somewhat factious conduct of the Parliament of Ireland, where both Houses, it has been supposed at the secret instigation of Burke, and by the active inter-

vention of Grattan, had passed resolutions in the precise spirit of the opposition in England, for addresses to the Prince of Wales, to request him to assume of his own right the regency of Ireland, without any restrictions. The lord-lieutenant refused to be the medium of transmission; and the two Houses elected a deputation to wait on the prince in London, where he received them with marked favour, but informed them of the circumstances which now rendered their measures unnecessary. This was contrasted with the cold manner in which he had received the English deputation under Mr. Pitt. The prince's conduct throughout had been most obnoxious to the Queen, and gave great offence to the King, who, after his recovery, expressed very openly his displeasure. The caricatures and satirical paragraphs against the prince and his party, were repeated with new spirit and violence. In one of these, published by Gillray on the 29th of April, under the title of "The Funeral Procession of Miss Regency," the bier is preceded by Burke, who, as a Jesuit priest, under the title of "Ignatius Loyola," reads the service of the dead. The chief mourner is entitled "The Princess of W—s,"—it is Mrs. Fitzherbert; the second mourners are Fox and Sheridan, who are designated as "The Rival Jacobites." There is an allusion throughout to the rumours relating to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and the dangers with which the Protestant church was supposed to be threatened by the prince's connections.

The conduct of the Lord Chancellor Thurlow was not forgotten in the royal displeasure; and the confidence between him and his colleagues was never restored.

The rejoicing throughout England on the King's recovery was loud and universal, and the joy was cer-

tainly sincere. The metropolis was illuminated with unusual brilliancy on the 12th of March; and the spontaneous burst of devotion to the royal person which accompanied the grand procession to St. Paul's on the 25th of April, the day fixed for public thanksgiving, shewed how much the King had gained in popularity. The odes and poems, usual on such occasions, filled the journals of the day.*

The popularity of the ministers did not increase in the same proportion, for it was too evident to every one that they had been actuated more by the spirit of political faction, which was equally prevalent with both parties, than by true patriotism. We must not overlook a rather celebrated caricature by Gillray, entitled "Minions of the Moon," published a little later (it is dated the 23rd of December, 1791), but generally understood to refer to this affair. It is a parody on Fuseli's picture of "The Weird-Sisters," who are represented with the features of Dundas,

* Among these loyal effusions, the following is given as the *bona fide* production of an honest parish clerk in North Wales; it may, perhaps, be taken as a measure of the popular *feeling* among the mass, and the magazine in which it was printed thinks it "is not unworthy of being recorded."

"*Few lines upon the recovery of his Majesty upon the old poam way.*

"Happy recovery for the king,
This matter is mighty surprising,
God be thankd, its the next thing
As deliver the dead a living.

"Not by the ficle turn of the faculty,
It provd the providence of the Allmighty,
He has the mode of remedy,
Or turn us to eturnity.

"We ought not to thought such thing,
As Pitt is to appoint us a sovering,
Nor keen Fox has the fixing,
God has the care to send us a king."

Pitt, and Thurlow; they are contemplating the disc of the moon, which represents on the bright side the face of the Queen, and on the shrouded side that of

THE WEIRD SISTERS.

the King, now overcast with mental darkness. The three "minions" are evidently addressing their devotions to the brighter side.

CHAPTER XII.

GEORGE III.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. — EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND. — DESERTIONS FROM THE LIBERAL PARTY IN PARLIAMENT; BURKE'S PHILIPPICS.—REVOLUTIONARY SYMPATHY IN ENGLAND; DR. PRICE, DR. PRIESTLEY, AND THOMAS PAINE.—ANTI-GALLICAN AGITATION.—SATIRES ON THE KING AND QUEEN.—AGITATION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, AND GOVERNMENT MEASURES AFFECTING THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.—FOREIGN POLICY; WAR WITH FRANCE.

KING GEORGE awoke from the darkness of his mental malady to be a witness of the most fearful social storm that had struck Europe since the days when the broken empire of Rome was overrun by the barbarian hordes of the North. To the eyes of profound observers, France had been long labouring under a complication of evils, which must eventually lead to some great national calamity. Reckless corruption, and a selfish contempt of the interests of the people, had, during many years, been aggravating the irritation of the populace, while a school of so-called philosophers were as industriously disseminating principles which tended to undermine and dissolve the existing frame of society. The increasing difficulties of the domestic policy of France, was watched with interest in England, where one party looked upon it as a grand struggle between liberty and despotism; another, less zealous in the cause of the former, still rejoiced in the embarrassments at home, which hindered France from being formidable to her neighbours, while they felt a sort of exultation in seeing the government thus punished

for the part it had acted in the war of American independence. Amid so many elements of discord, it was the misfortune of France to be governed by a weak monarch, in every respect unfitted to grapple with the difficulties of his position,—a people ill-disposed, an enormous national debt, and an administration filled with abuses, were the legacies bequeathed to him by his predecessors. A winter unusually severe, accompanied with famine and its other concomitant disasters, ushered in the year 1789, and drove the mass of the people to little short of despair. The French king endeavoured to avert the danger by repeated concessions, which always came too late, and only exposed to his discontented subjects the weakness of his position. The attention of Englishmen had been called from the affairs of France by the serious calamity which threatened them at home, and by the rejoicings after they had been relieved from their fears by the King's recovery; for several months the news from France had occupied but a secondary place among our foreign intelligence, when the extraordinary revolution of the months of June and July, came suddenly to astonish all classes of society in this country.

The French revolution at first excited considerable sympathy in England, although, as it proceeded, and its true character became developed, that sympathy soon diminished. During the latter part of the year 1789, the tone of the moderate English papers was decidedly favourable to the movement, which, it was believed, would end in the establishment of free institutions. Thus, the *European Magazine*, a periodical extremely moderate in its politics, makes the following reflections in the month of September:—"The political phenomenon exhibited by France, at this mo-

ment, is perfectly unparalleled throughout the annals of universal history. If the constitution now forming, under circumstances so peculiarly favourable, be finally established, if the deliberations and wisdom of the philosopher be not circumscribed by the intrigues of the politician, or destroyed by the sword of faction, the result will be a *chef-d'œuvre* of government."

The interest which the English populace felt in the troubles now going on in Paris, is shewn by the frequency of allusions to them on the stage. In some instances the scenes of the incipient revolution were introduced in theatrical pageantry. The popularity of such representations, and the class they were intended to captivate, are testified by the words of an epilogue pronounced on the 21st of August, in the private theatre of Lord Barrymore, at Wargrave, in presence of the Prince of Wales, which places these subjects in the same category with wonderful animals, boxers, and wrestlers, in that age the favourite spectacles of the mob.

> "But though, all anxious, every nerve we strain,
> How can we hope your plaudits to obtain?
> Here the spectator no dark Bastille sees,
> *Pasteboard* Versailles, and *canvas* Tuileries;
> No keen remarks concerning French affairs;
> No dancing turkies and no drumming hares;
> Nor (as most fit in a gymnastic age)
> Does Ben with Johnson fist to fist engage;
> Nor Humphreys here, Antæus-like, renew
> His stubborn contest with the rival Jew."

As we advance towards the end of the year, we find these attempts to bring French politics on the stage more frequent, and the feeling was evidently extending itself to the higher theatres; but at the same time the sentiments of the court begin to be apparent in the

proscription of them. On the 13th of November, an opera, entitled "The Tale of St. Margaret," was brought out at Drury Lane in a mutilated form. It is stated in the periodicals of the day that this performance was originally designed for a representation of the assault and destruction of the Bastille, with which was blended the story of the Iron Mask; but, when it came before the licenser, every part of the piece that bore immediate resemblance to the late popular events in Paris, was, from political considerations, forbidden, and therefore it was "unavoidably brought forward in a maimed and mutilated state." The prologue, spoken by Bannister, concluded with the following lines, which tended to propitiate the power that had curtailed the piece, as well as the feelings of the populace. Britain, it says, stands as a blessed beacon amid the storm which was raging abroad.

"Nations of freemen, yet unborn, shall own
Thee parent of their rights.—Thou who alone,
By storms surrounded, fixt on Albion's rock,
With pity from on high behold'st the shock
Of jarring elements—thyself at rest!
Conscious that thou, above all nations blest,
Free from revolt alike and slavish awe,
Art doubly safe where liberty is law!"

An "occasional address," spoken at the Royal Circus in November, on occasion of one of these political representations, being intended more especially for the populace, was much stronger in its expression of sentiments.

"How I have strove your kind applause to gain,
The interest of the scene will best explain.
To-night we lead you to a neighbouring shore,
Where swelling Tyranny shall reign no more;

Where Liberty has made a glorious stand,
And spread her lustre e'en o'er Gallic land.
Yes! Albion's spirit has at length inspired,
Warm'd every heart, and every bosom fired.
Oppression shrinks; his hosts in terror fly,
And France is blest with England's liberty!
The goddess, rising in her native charms,
In one bright moment called her sons to arms.
True to her call, her glorious sons obey,
Beneath her banners work their rapid way.
And, oh, for ever be the hand adored,
Who first the Bastille's horrid cells explored,
Freed each pale inmate from a wretched doom,
And fixed their fame for ages yet to come.—
Such glowing scenes to paint be ours to try.
Oh, should they move the heart, impearl the eye,
With gratitude increased we'll nightly strive
To keep the blest emotions still alive!
What scene more suited to a British stage,
Than that where Freedom glows with honest rage;
Warms a whole kingdom to confess its cause,
And fix indelible its sacred laws,
Firm as the rocks which girt our Albion's shore,
To stand revered till time shall be no more?
Oh! may such laws to other shores extend,
And prove to all a universal friend!
May proud Oppression from his throne be hurl'd,
And Freedom reign—the mistress of the world!"

The same call for stage representation of French politics, and the same jealousy on the part of the government, extended into the provinces. At Bath, on the 2nd of November, the following lines of an epilogue to the tragedy of "Earl Goodwin," were expunged by command of the Lord Chamberlain, and were not allowed to be spoken in the theatre.

"Lo! the poor Frenchman, long our nation's jest,
Feels a new passion throbbing in his breast;
From slavish, tyrant, priestly fetters free,
For *Vive le roi!* cries *Vive la liberté!*

And daring now to act as well as feel,
Crushes the convent and the dread Bastille."

In theatres of a less public character, other sentiments were occasionally pronounced. At Mr. Fector's "private" theatre at Dover, at a representation on the 4th of November, an epilogue closed with the lines,—

" But can we sit supine at others' woe?
For royal sufferings loyal tears will flow;
A generous nation mourns a fallen foe.
With grief our sympathising bosoms wring
At the sad fate of Gallia's captive king.
The monarch's palace is no prison here,
Free as his people—what has George to fear?
His happy home no *fishwomen* beset,
Virtue and worth dissever faction's net;
Beloved he executes the sacred trust,
And foes proclaim him both benign and just.
Oh, may our loyalty its charm diffuse,
And every daring demagogue confuse;
In every clime defeat sedition's plan,
Preserve the peace, and guard the rights of man."

The leaders of both the great political parties seem at first to have accepted the French revolution as a good omen for the future prospects of Europe, although their eyes were soon opened to the real character of the movement, and the dangers that were engendered by it. For some time, however, they spoke with caution, and seemed anxious to avoid every occasion of bringing the subject into discussion, however strongly several of them may have expressed themselves in private. When the Parliament opened on the 21st of January, 1790, the speech from the throne omitted even the name of France, though it spoke of the "continued assurances of the good disposition of all foreign powers," but a passing allusion

was made to "the internal situation of different parts of Europe." The addresses of both houses were agreed to with slight discussions; the movers spoke of the excellence of the English constitution, and compared the constitutional liberty enjoyed in this country with the anarchy and licentiousness that reigned in France. Most of the speakers took it for granted that it had been the intention of the revolutionists to form a government in imitation of our constitution. The House of Commons next proceeded to the consideration of the slave trade, for the abolition of which Wilberforce was now contending; and no further allusion to France was made until the 5th of February, when a discussion arose upon the army estimates.

Although the ministerial speakers had expressed no disapprobation of the attempt of the French people to relieve themselves from a ruinous and despotic government, it was well known that their private sentiments were hostile to the present state of things. The atrocious character which the popular movement in France had now taken had already disgusted a large portion of those who at first viewed it with favour, and it was destined to break up, in a more disastrous manner than any previous question, the ranks of the opposition. The grand explosion of hostility against the French revolution came from a quarter in which it might have been least expected. In the debate just alluded to, Fox praised the conduct of the French soldiers in refusing to act against the people, and said that it took away many of his objections to a standing army. This dangerous sentiment drew forth some severe remarks, especially from the military part of the House. Fox, it was well known, had accepted

the revolution, in spite of all its sinister accompaniments, as the dawn of European regeneration; and to the last he defended its principles, and persisted in his hopes of its favourable termination, while he disapproved of the conduct of those who had driven it into so many excesses and calamities. One section of the Whig party fully partook in his sentiments on this subject; but there were many of his old friends who disagreed with him. When the debate on the army estimates was resumed on the 9th of February, Fox repeated his remark on the conduct of the French soldiers, and openly avowed his opinion of the revolution, declaring that he exulted in the successful attempt of our neighbours to deliver themselves from oppression, intimating at the same time his confident belief that the present convulsions would, sooner or later, give way to constitutional order. This declaration roused Edmund Burke, who deprecated the countenance given to the French revolution by his old political friend and leader, made an eloquent declamation on the errors and dangers of that extraordinary catastrophe, and expressed his fears that the movement might eventually reach our own country, where, he said, there were people watching only for the opportunity to imitate the French. When Burke rose, he was evidently labouring under great agitation of feeling; and, in the warmth of his declamation, he declared that he was prepared to separate himself from his oldest friends, in order to defend the constitution of his country against the encroachments of the baneful democratical spirit which had produced so much havoc in France. Fox replied with moderation, reasserted his own sentiments on the subject, and lamented in feeling terms the difference of opinion which had

arisen between them; but Sheridan, less temperate, burst into something like an invective against Burke, and described his speech as one disgraceful to an Englishman, a direct encomium of despotism, and a libel on men who were virtuously engaged in labouring to obtain the rights of men. Burke rose again, expressed great indignation against Sheridan, and declared that he considered their political friendship at an end for ever.

Pitt had sat quietly on the Treasury bench, inwardly rejoicing at the division which had taken place among his opponents; but he also rose after Burke's second speech, and, without making any direct attack upon the French, he spoke of the necessity of rallying round our own constitution, complimented Burke on the sentiments he had that day expressed, and declared that he had earned the gratitude of his country to the latest posterity. Several others of the ministerial party followed Pitt in applauding Burke's conduct. Fox felt personally for the disagreement, and the whole Whig party took the alarm. Great exertions were made to effect a reconciliation, but without any satisfactory results, for Burke continued cold and distant; and Sheridan, who seems to have displeased his own party by his violence on this occasion, took little part in the parliamentary proceedings during the remainder of the session.

Burke was correct in stating that there was a number of discontented people in this country who admired the conduct of the Gallic democrats, and who were most anxious to establish their principles and follow their practice in this country. The political agitation of the earlier part of the reign of George III., and the warm partizanship to which it had led,

had given a tendency to the formation of clubs and private societies for the discussion of political questions, which were scattered over the country, and not only assisted the opposition in elections, but were extremely useful allies in getting up petitions to the House on questions likely to embarrass the ministers. Beyond this their influence was not great, and there was nothing in their character to cause any apprehensions. Some of them were at times attended, and even presided over, by distinguished members of the opposition in both Houses of Parliament. One of the most remarkable and the oldest of these clubs was that known by the name of the "Revolution Society," which consisted of a number of the old Whig party, who met every year on the 4th of November to celebrate the memory of the revolution of 1688. In 1788 this society celebrated the centenary anniversary of that great event with more than usual solemnity, and with a very large attendance; among those present was a secretary of State, and several persons high in office and confidence at Court. The sentiments expressed on this occasion were of the most loyal description; but a year seems to have altered very much the complexion of the society. Most of the members shared in Fox's opinion of the French revolution; and, by a strange misunderstanding of its true character, and of that of the French populace, they imagined that it would bear a strict comparison with that which had hurled James II. from the English throne. The society met as usual on the 4th of November, 1789, under the presidency of Lord Stanhope, a nobleman whose love of republican principles was carried almost to insanity. Among the more enthusiastic members of this society was

an old man, a preacher of the gospel, who (singularly enough) had been, on more occasions than one, the financial adviser of young William Pitt, who had not taken alarm at his zeal for the cause of American independence as he now did at those outbursts of the same zeal which merited for him the title of

"That revolution-sinner—Doctor Price."

On the morning of the anniversary dinner of the Revolution Society in 1789, in the midst of the excitement produced in this country by the earlier acts of the French revolution, Dr. Price preached at a dissenting chapel in the Old Jewry, before the members of the society, a sermon "On the love of our country," which was subsequently printed and was the cause of considerable agitation. In this discourse, Price accepted the French revolution as a glorious event in the history of mankind, as one fraught with unmixed good to the whole human race. At the conclusion, he burst into a rhapsody of admiration. "What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it: and I could almost say, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error; I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it; I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other revo-

lutions, both glorious; and now methinks I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs—the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze, that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe!"

Such were the sentiments which at this moment were gaining ground in England; and the enthusiasm of the preacher seems to have communicated itself to his audience. At the meeting of the society, which was very fully attended, a motion proposed by Dr. Price was agreed to by acclamation for a formal address of "their congratulations to the National Assembly on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." This address was transmitted by the chairman, Lord Stanhope, and was received with strongly marked satisfaction by the body to which it was sent; but it had the double effect of misleading the revolutionary government as to the real feelings of the population of this country in their subsequent transactions with England, and of encouraging those attempts at political propagandism which soon followed. A close correspondence was soon established between the discontented party in this country, and the democrats in Paris, from which Fox himself was not altogether free; and many new political societies were

formed in different parts of the island, some of them much more violent in their language and professed objects than the London Revolution Society. Counter societies were likewise established, to combat the revolution societies with their own weapons of agitation. We shall soon witness the effects of this popular antagonism.

Two other individuals stood prominent among the violent revolutionists of this country. The first was a man of low origin, only half educated, but talented in that style of writing which has its effect among those classes of society which were now most agitated, and reckless in his attacks on all existing institutions, political or religious. This was Thomas Paine, originally a stay-maker at Thetford, who had subsequently been an exciseman, then a sailor, after which he emigrated to America, where his ardent revolutionary propensities had been blown up into a blaze. He had now returned to England, was active among the political clubs, and had attracted the notice of the chiefs of the opposition, having even been admitted to a certain degree of intimacy by Edmund Burke. Joseph Priestley merited a more honourable celebrity by his researches and discoveries in science, than by his political and religious opinions, in both of which he was violently opposed to the established order of things. Dr. Priestley was an Unitarian preacher, resident at Birmingham, and belonged to a sect which had become numerous in various parts of England, and which generally entertained political opinions of a very liberal character. In the hands of people like these, the clubs multiplied, and became more violent in their language; among the more celebrated of these were the Constitutional Society, the "Club of the 14th of

July," (the day of the capture of the Bastille,) and the Corresponding Society, the latter being the most violent of them all.

At the same time that these clubs were doing all they could to spread democratical opinions through England, King George's disinclination to making concessions to the liberal party, seemed to increase with age and infirmities; and he now adopted the conviction that the concessions on the part of the crown had been the chief cause of the French revolution. The clergy, terrified by the fate of their Romish brethren on the other side of the channel, seconded the King's resolution with the cry that the church was in danger; they had been for some years looking with alarm at the increase in the dissenting body, and they now began to agitate against them, and to call for measures of persecution. In face of this feeling from above, other large and intelligent portions of the community called loudly for legislative reform, and for religious toleration. The revolution in France was set up as a sufficient argument against reform in England; the real or pretended designs of some of the dissenters were made to justify the continuance of the test and corporation acts; and even Wilberforce's favourite measure for the abolition of slavery was stifled by an appeal to the horrors perpetrated in French republican St. Domingo.

Fox brought forward in the House of Commons a motion for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, on the 2nd of March, 1790, in a very able speech, to the principles of which no objection was made. Some members avowed their approval of the measure, but said they considered themselves bound to obey the will of their constituents, who, in various instances, had held

public meetings, and directed their representatives to oppose all concession to the dissenters. Pitt declared that his feelings were in favour of toleration, but he was afraid that in granting their wishes he might be overthrowing one of the barriers of the constitution. It was Burke who, on this occasion, took upon himself the task of religious persecutor. He also made an apology for the part he was taking, and then he flew off to his favourite subject, the horrors and crimes of the French revolution; he avowed general opinions totally at variance with those with whom he had acted so many years, declared that there was no such thing as natural rights of men, and condemned the whole body of the dissenters in the strongest terms, as discontented people, whose principles tended to the subversion of good government. He even supported his opinions by calling to memory the proceedings of the mad Lord George Gordon; and to prove the danger with which the constitution was now threatened, he spoke of the celebrated sermon of Dr. Price on the love of our country, and some political writings of Dr. Priestley. The motion was rejected by a majority of nearly three to one.

The question of religious toleration was that on which the Tory party first began to agitate the people, and they succeeded in exciting the prejudices of the mob, and even of the middle classes, to an extraordinary degree. It was little short of a new Sacheverell crusade; for there were "no dissenter" meetings in all parts of the country, and in some places "no dissenter" mobs. Besides pamphlets of a more serious character, they were ridiculed and burlesqued in satirical songs and poems, many of which incited the populace to insult and abuse them. A lawyer of

Birmingham, well known by the name of councillor Morfit, (as we find written by a contemporary hand, on a copy in the possession of Mr. Burke,) composed a parody on the national anthem, which soon became extensively popular, and was printed sometimes with a large caricatured representation of the chief dissenters brooding over sedition. It was entitled

"OLD MOTHER CHURCH.

"God save great George our king,
Long live our noble king,
God save the king!
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the king!

"Old mother Church disdains
The vile dissenting strains,
That round her ring;
She keeps her dignity,
And, scorning faction's cry,
Sings with sincerity,
God save the king.

"Sedition is their creed;
Feign'd sheep, but *wolves* indeed,
How can we trust?
Gunpowder Priestley would
Deluge the throne with blood,
And lay the great and good
Low in the dust.

"History, thy page unfold,
Did not their *sires* of old
Murder their king?
And they would overthrow
King, lords, and bishops too,
And, while they gave the blow,
Loyally sing,

" O Lord our God arise!
Scatter our enemies,
And make them fall;
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks;
On thee our hopes we fix,
God save us all."

The language of the more violent among the dissenters, it must be confessed, was not calculated to dispel the prejudices of their enemies. Burke, in his speech against the motion for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, had asserted, with truth, that tolerant feelings were a thing unknown amongst the party which was crying loudest for toleration, and all their proceedings at this moment of agitation were strongly tainted with the bitter animosity of the religious parties in the age of the Puritans. Burke said that, according to the doctrines set forth by the dissenters, the church of Rome was a common strumpet, the kirk of Scotland was a kept mistress, and the church of England an equivocal lady of easy virtue, between the one and the other. A rather popular ballad, distributed about during the agitation against the dissenters at the beginning of 1790, before the motion in Parliament for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, under the title of "Now or never; or, a Reveillee to the Church," pictures the terror of the church at the movement among its opponents,—

" Oh, who shall blow the brazen trump,
By famed Sacheverell sounded,
That spread confusion through the Rump,
And silenced every Roundhead?

" Now, now, if ever, loudly bawl
'The Church, the Church in danger!'
Each prebend trembles for his stall,
And eke his rack and manger.

" Peers, knights, and squires, in league combined,
Protect your good old mother;
For should the beldame *slip her wind*,
You 'll ne'er see such another."

The church, says this ballad in equally strong language, was unwilling to give up any portion of the loaves and fishes on which it had been so long fattening,—

" Two hundred years and more, the dame
Has tightly held together;
Her glorious motto, 'Still the same,'
In spite of wind and weather.

" Her babes of grace, with tender care,
She fed on dainty dishes;
And none but they have had a share
Among the loaves and fishes.

" Shall Presbyterian shrieves and mayors
Eat custard with the wise men—
Or meetings hear the pious prayers
Of searchers and excisemen?

" The sects they prate of rights and stuff,
And brawl in fierce committees,
And soon will put on blue and buff,
While Price sings *Nunc dimittis*.

" Rouse, then, for shame! ye church-fed race,
With Tories true and trusty,
Turn on your foe your fighting face,
And fit your armour rusty."

The universities next come in for their share of the attack; and the ballad concludes with an allusion to the part taken by some of the towns and corporations in appealing to Parliament against the dissenters.

Among the caricatures produced by this excitement, and designed to keep it up, is a large print by Sayer, published on the 16th of February (about a fortnight

before Fox's motion in the House of Commons), and entitled "The Repeal of the Test Act, a vision." The three leading dissenters occupy a lofty pulpit, and beat the "drum ecclesiastic" in the chapel of sedition. Priestley, to the left, with outstretched arms, is breathing forth flames of "Arianism," "Socinianism,"

A TRIO OF INCENDIARIES.

"Deism," and "Atheism." Price, in the middle, is closing his discourse with a solemn prayer,—"And now let us fervently pray for the abolition of all unlimited and limited monarchy, for the annihilation of all ecclesiastical revenues and endowments, for the extinction of all orders of nobility and all rank and subordination in civil society, and that anarchy and disorder may, by our pious endeavours, prevail throughout the universe. See my sermon on the anniversary of the revolution." The doctor holds in his hand a paper inscribed, "The prayers of the congregation are desired for the success of the patriotic members of the National Assembly now sitting in France." Dr. Lindsey, who occupies the other side of the pulpit, is tearing to pieces a tablet inscribed with the thirty-nine articles. Among the congregation we see Fox (shouting "Hear, hear, hear!"), Margaret Nicholson (the

would-be regicide), Dr. Rees, Dr. Kippis, Lord Stanhope (who is tearing to pieces the "Acts of Parliament for the uniformity of the Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments"), and several others, some of whom are busy clearing away rubbish, including mitres, communion cups, Bibles, and other similar articles. Through the window we perceived that people are at work pulling down church steeples, and an angel is flying away with the cross. The door of the "Sanctum Sanctorum" on the other side reveals to our view a picture of Cromwell suspended within. The following lines, inscribed at the foot of the print, express the spirit of the whole,—

"From such implacable tormentors,
Fanatics, hypocrites, dissenters,
Cruel in power, and restless out,
And, when most factious, most devout,
May God preserve the church and throne,
And George the good that sits thereon.
Nor may their plots exclude his heirs
From reigning, when the right is theirs!
For should the foot the head command,
And faction gain the upper hand,
We may expect a ruin'd land."

The agitation against the dissenters, and the alarm caused by the disorderly and sanguinary turn which the revolution in France had taken, were seized as offering a favourable opportunity for the elections, and Parliament was dissolved on the 10th of June. The new Parliament seems to have differed little in its character from the old one; and the only incident of much importance, as depicting the political movement of the day, was the appearance of John Horne Tooke (so well known in the earlier part of the reign as Parson Horne of Brentford), who offered himself as a candidate to

contest Westminster with Fox and Lord Hood. Neither Fox, nor his seconder, Sheridan, were a match in mob-eloquence with Tooke, and the latter held his place manfully on the hustings; but, at the end of the poll, he was in a considerable minority. This man, who is best known to the public by his "Diversions of Purley,"—a work which has long enjoyed a much better reputation than it merits,—had been in the political contentions of the beginning of the reign a violent Wilkite; he had subsequently quarrelled with Wilkes, and done everything in his power to vilify his private and public character; since that he seemed almost to have disappeared from the political stage, until the French Revolution and the English political societies again brought him to life. On his rejection at Westminster he presented a petition against the return, in a tone that gave great offence to the House of Commons. We shall soon see him still more active in the political factions of the day. The Westminster election of 1790 was, like its predecessors, the scene of much mobbing and violence, and produced abundance of electioneering squibs. A few poor caricatures were directed chiefly against Fox, who, it was pretended by his opponents, gained his election by coalescing with Lord Hood. When the Tories wished to be very severe on their great parliamentary enemy, they tried to get up some charge of a "coalition."

The new Parliament met on the 26th of November, when any direct allusion to the affairs of France was again omitted in the King's speech, and the subject seemed to be avoided for a while in the debates in either house. But, while it appeared thus to have been discarded by the Court, it had absorbed the whole

J. Gilray del.

F.W. Fairholt. F.S.A. sc.

SMELLING OUT A RAT.

OR-THE ATHEISTICAL-REVOLUTIONIST DISTURBED IN HIS MIDNIGHT 'CALCULATIONS.' *VIDE*-A TROUBLED CONSCIENCE

mighty intellect of Burke, who, a short time before the opening of the session, had published his eloquent Reflections on the French Revolution. In this remarkable production he had painted in exaggerated colours its errors and enormities, and he had no less undoubtedly exaggerated the danger of the extension of republican principles to this country. The English political societies, the dissenters, and their acknowledged or covert designs, and especially Dr. Price's sermon, all became objects in turn of his indignant declamations. Perhaps no single book ever produced so powerful an effect as these "Reflections;" their publication marked an epoch in the history of the country, and we find that immediately after the appearance of this pamphlet, not only did the general feeling throughout England become more decidedly hostile to democratic France, but the English government began to take bolder steps for the suppression of sedition at home. An admirable caricature by Gillray, published on the 3rd of December, 1790, represents the long, spectacled nose of the author of these reflections, armed with the crown and the cross, penetrating into the secret study of Dr. Price, and surprising him, surrounded by all the evidences of sedition against church and state.* The King and his ministers, and all the Tory party, expressed unbounded admiration of this splendid defence of their policy; but it gave great dissatisfaction to the ultra-Whigs, who complained that Burke had misrepresented the conduct of the French in order to render them odious, and that he had advanced principles which led to despotism and

* It is entitled, "Smelling out a Rat; or, The Atheistical Revolutionist disturbed in his midnight Calculations." An exact copy of this caricature is given in the accompanying plate.

arbitrary power. Burke's book was answered in an elegant essay by Mackintosh, who then figured a young man as one of the boldest Whigs, and more violently and coarsely in a celebrated work entitled "The Rights of Man," by Thomas Paine, who, after having studied republicanism and democracy in the congress of America, and in the worst clubs in Paris, was now returned to England in the hopes of finding here a soil fitted for their reception. At first Paine's "Rights of Man" was approved by Fox, and thousands of copies were printed, distributed through the country, and read with eagerness. Dr. Priestley also entered the field against Burke's "Reflections," and a number of more insignificant writers took up the pen. Pamphlets for and against the French Revolution, now issued from the press in extraordinary numbers.

The satisfaction which Burke's pamphlet gave to ministers, was soon increased by his entire defection from the standard of opposition. The Whigs seem to have designedly urged him on to his grand outbreak on this subject. For weeks their journals teemed with attacks on his book, and with hints at his apostasy from the cause of freedom. When he rose in the house to speak on French politics, they put him down by their murmurs, although Fox and Sheridan were ready to seize upon any occasion of declaring their admiration of the revolution. Burke kept silence during a large part of the session, or said little; the more moderate of the Whig party counselled him to act thus, in order to avoid making a schism in their ranks. But it was a task in which Edmund Burke was not the man to persist, and, after entering into a warm debate on the subject on the 15th of April, in connection with the pending measure for the government of Canada,

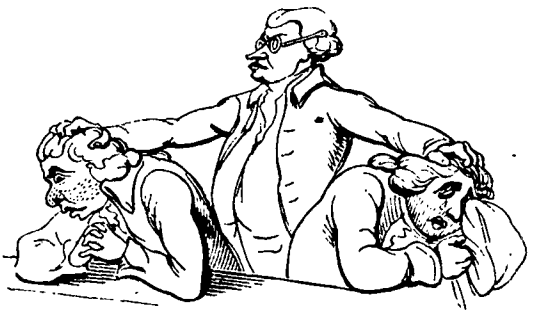
and having given one or two intimations that his heart was full of a burthen which he was resolved to discharge; on the 16th of May he delivered his second grand philippic in the House of Commons against the French revolution and its authors. He dwelt especially on the horrible massacres which had devastated the French Isle of St. Domingo, and returned from them to depict the state of France, which at that time was every day sinking deeper in anarchy and blood. He was interrupted for a while by the impatience of some members of the opposition, and Fox seized the opportunity of declaring how entirely he differed with him on this grand topic, and of speaking somewhat disrespectfully of his book. It was then that Burke rose again, with more warmth than ever, and, after complaining of the interruptions and attacks to which he had been exposed, proceeded to dilate in eloquent and forcible language on the new principles propagated in France, and the way in which they were propagated, on the treasonable conduct of certain unitarian and other dissenting preachers in this country, who corresponded with the French democrats, and held them up for imitation—he alluded, of course, to Priestley and other instigators of sedition; Dr. Price had died on the 19th of April,—and on the danger that the French might be tempted to use a portion of their large military force in assisting to revolutionize England; he said that love of his country was a feeling above private affections, and proclaimed that his friendship with Fox and his party was at an end. Fox, than whom no man possessed a kinder or more affectionate heart, rose to reply with tears rolling down his cheeks; he appealed to their long friendship and familiar intercourse; to his own unaltered attachment; he cited

Burke's former opinions and exertions in the cause of liberty; and he deprecated the idea that their personal friendship should be destroyed by a difference of opinion on one particular subject. He, however, intermixed his reply with some personal recriminations and observations which only increased the irritation; Burke remained cold and inexorable, and all intercourse between the two statesmen was discontinued.

The loss of Burke was a severe blow to the party, and was a subject of no small exultation to the ministry and to the court. He became an object of unbounded admiration in the Tory papers, while those of the opposition were equally pertinacious in their attacks and in their abuse. Several clever caricatures have remained to us as testimonies of the former feeling. One of those in which the sentiment is more coarsely expressed, entitled "The wrangling friends; or, Opposition in disorder," published on the 10th of May, and an evident attempt at imitating the style of Gillray, depicts the affecting scene in the House of Commons in broad caricature, and shews favour to neither of the two principal actors. Pitt, seated quietly on one side exclaims, "If they 'd cut each other's throats, I should be relieved from these troublesome fellows." The Tories represented Burke as one who had turned King's evidence against his accomplices, who they expected would now be convicted and condemned. A caricature, by Gillray published on the 14th of May, represented Fox as the Guy Faux of his party, on the point of blowing up the King, Lords, and Constitution, when he is detected and brought to light by the vigilant watchman, Burke, who here appears in the service of the crown. Sheridan and others of his colleagues are seeking safety in flight. That he had entered the service

of the crown, and was to be paid accordingly, many believed, or pretended to believe; and both parties seemed not unwilling that this impression should go abroad. In one print, published at this time, Burke is represented as receiving from Pitt a coronet as the reward of his desertion. Another caricature by Gillray, published in May, about the same time as the former, represents the great impeacher pointing out his two colleagues Fox and Sheridan, to justice, with the declaration, "Behold the abettors of revolution!"

THE VIGILANT WATCHMAN.



AN IMPEACHMENT.

It is entitled, "The impeachment; or, The father of the gang turned King's evidence." Both parties, in the scene described above, described the other chiefs of the opposition as the political offspring of Burke. From this time the face of Burke appears much more rarely in the caricatures. A severe, and an unjust caricature by Gillray, published on the 16th of No-

vember, 1791, after Burke had accepted a pension from the crown, represents him under the title of "A uniform Whig." He is seen leaning with his right arm on a pedestal supporting the bust of King George, and holding in his hand his "Reflections on the French Revolution." On this side of his body, his garb is new and fashionable, and his pockets are overflowing with money. On the other side he is dressed in rags, his empty pockets turned inside out, and he holds a cap of liberty in his hand. The supposed changeableness of his principles is intimated by a figure of Fame, making with its toe a tangent on the extremity of the sail of a windmill. Underneath is inscribed a sentence from his own Reflections,—"I preserve consistency by varying my means to secure the unity of my end." Burke was the last person in the world to condescend to use means, or to listen to motives, that were mean or dishonourable.

Encouraged by the desertions which were weakening the opposition in parliament, and by the extraordinary effect produced throughout the country by Burke's "Reflections," the government now began to take a higher tone towards France, and their agents neglected no means of exciting the popular feelings throughout the nation, against dissenters and revolutionists. The caricaturists, especially, began now to be unusually active. In the caricatures, the leaders of the opposition in parliament were ranked in the same category as the incendiaries of the clubs—they were all equally democrats and king-haters. The four leaders—associates in council and in arms—were Fox, Sheridan, Priestley, and Paine. The latter had gained an extraordinary importance by his "Rights of Man,"—the answer to Burke's "Reflections." Gillray burlesqued

this low agitator in a caricature, published on the 23rd May, 1791, entitled, "The Rights of Man; or, Tommy Paine, the American tailor, taking the measure of the crown for a new pair of revolution breeches." Paine is here represented with the conventional type of face which in the caricatures of this and the subsequent period was always given to a French democrat; — his tricolored cockade bears the inscription, "*Vive la liberté!*" And the following, almost incoherent soliloquy is placed in his mouth :—

A BAD MEASURER.

"Fathom and a half! fathom and a half! Poor Tom! ah! mercy upon me! that 's more by half than my poor measure will ever be able to reach!—Lord! Lord! I wish I had a bit of the stay-tape or buckram which I used to cabbage when I was a prentice, to lengthen it out.—Well, well, who would ever have thought it, that I, who have served seven years as an apprentice, and afterwards worked four years as a journeyman to a master tailor, then followed the business of an exciseman as much longer, should not be able to take the dimensions of this bauble!—for what is a crown but a bauble? which we may see in the Tower for sixpence a piece?—Well, although it may be too large for a tailor to take measure of, there 's one comfort, he may make mouths at it, and call it as many names as he pleases!—and yet, Lord! Lord! I should like to make it a Yankee-doodle night-cap and breeches, if it was not so d—d large, or I had stuff enough. Ah! if I could once do that, I would soon stitch up the mouth of that barnacled Edmund from making any more Reflections upon the Flints—and so Flints and Liberty for ever! and d—n the Dungs! Huzza!"

It was represented that those who were opposed to Pitt's government aimed directly at the overthrow of the throne and the constitution—that reform was a mask for republicanism—that dissent from the church was equivalent to atheism. Fox and his party, in the prints which were now spread about the country, appeared as regicides *in embryo*, and the fate of Charles I. and the sins of the puritans were made to ring constantly in people's ears. These anticipations were set forth graphically, in a large engraving by Gillray, entitled "The hopes of the party," published in July, 1791. Amid the horrors of the successful revolution here pre-supposed, the Queen and the prime minister are seen on one side, each suspended to a lamp. This was an example borrowed from recent proceedings of the French democrats. It was commonly believed that Pitt and Queen Charlotte were closely leagued together to pillage and oppress the nation, and she was far less popular than the King, whose infirmity produced a general sympathy, and who had many good qualities that endeared him to those with whom he came in contact. In another part of Gillray's picture, the King is brought to the block, held down by Sheridan, while Fox, masked, acts as executioner. Priestley, with pious exhortations, is encouraging the fallen monarch to submit to his hard fate.

A PAIR OF PENDENTS.

MARTYRDOM.

The prejudice which such productions were intended to excite soon communicated itself to the populace, which more especially caught up the cry against the dissenters. There was some rioting in several parts of the country, but the weight of the popular ill-humour fell upon Dr. Priestley, who then resided at Birmingham. This town was, even then, the place of all others where it was easiest to get together a mob that would hesitate at nothing, with the prospect of mischief and plunder before it. A number of Priestley's friends in Birmingham agreed to celebrate the second anniversary of the capture of the Bastille on the 14th of July, 1791, by a dinner, which it was understood would be accompanied with revolutionary toasts and songs. There were many people in the town who disliked the persons who were to assemble on this occasion as much as they hated the cause in which they were engaged, and the announcement of this dinner caused considerable agitation. It can hardly be doubted that a plot was formed by persons in a better position in society to get up a popular demonstration for the purpose of insulting (at the least) the friends

of democratic principles. Two or three days before the appointed day, a violently seditious paper, of which Priestley's friends declared themselves entirely innocent, and which there seemed reason to believe had come from London, was distributed about the town. On the 14th, which was a Thursday, about eighty persons sat down to dinner, but Dr. Priestley himself was not present. A mob had already assembled round the tavern at which the dinner was to be held, who shouted, "Church and King," and insulted the guests as they came to the door. The magistrates, instead of taking measures to preserve the peace, were dining at a neighbouring tavern with a party of red-hot loyalists. The mob kept from violence until both parties had broken up; but then, encouraged by the loyalists who were heated with wine and enthusiasm, they broke into the tavern in search of Dr. Priestley, who was not there: and then, disappointed in their design of seizing the arch-revolutionist (as they considered him), they rushed to his chapel, the new meeting-house, and burnt it to the ground. It was now evening, and the mob was greatly increased, having been joined by large bodies of labourers, who had ended their day's work. They then burnt the old meeting-house, and proceeded to the house of Dr. Priestley, about a mile and a half from the town, which they also destroyed, with his library, papers, and philosophical instruments. Priestley and his family had fled; he reached London in safety, and took the charge of Dr. Price's congregation at Hackney. The mob was now master of the place, and for several successive days paraded Birmingham and its neighbourhood, burning and destroying without interruption, until the following Monday (the 18th), when a strong

body of military arrived, and the rioters dispersed. An inclination to follow the example of Birmingham was exhibited in some other places, and the outcry against dissenters and revolutionists became loud from one end of the kingdom to the other. The ultra-radicals were strongest in London and in Scotland.

In the autumn, a domestic event came to throw a gleam of joy amid the bitterness of political and religious faction which now reigned throughout the land. On the 29th of September, the Duke of York was married at Berlin to the eldest daughter of the King of Prussia, and he arrived with his bride in London on the 19th of October, where they were received amid the congratulations of all classes of society. For some time nothing was talked of or sung of but the new duchess, and her portrait was to be seen in every print-shop. The marriage became soon the subject of a variety of prints and caricatures. The latter were very numerous; and one of them, by Gillray, represents the joy of the King and Queen at the arrival of their daughter-in-law as arising chiefly from the riches she was said to have brought with her. It is entitled "The Introduction," and was published on the 2nd of November. The duke is introducing his bride, who carries her apron full of money; the King and Queen are shewing their satisfaction at her golden burthen

EXPECTATION.

in unmistakeable gestures, the Queen, especially, holds out her apron in expectation of a share.

It was during this period of danger for thrones and princes, that poets and artists joined in heaping ridicule and satire on the persons of King George and his family. Among the former, by far the most remarkable was Dr. Wolcot, better known by his celebrated pseudonym of Peter Pindar, whose clever but daring infractions of royal inviolability have not yet ceased to amuse his countrymen. These satirists invaded the most private recesses of the palace, and dragged before the world a host of ridiculous incidents with which royal eccentricity furnished them, and which were calculated rather to bring royalty into contempt than to add to its splendour. It appears that both the King and the Queen were in the habit of attending to various minutiæ of domestic economy which are more consistent with a low station in life than with the public dignity of the Crown, and scenes of this description were brought before the eye of the public with the most provoking impertinence. A caricature, published on the 21st of November, 1791, represented the King and Queen in the character of careful farmers "going to market." The royal pair were described as cheapening bargains, and exulting in the saving of shillings and sixpences. When at their favourite watering-place, Weymouth, they were said to have had their provisions brought from Windsor by the mail, free of carriage, because Weymouth was a dear place. So, at least, says Peter Pindar,—

> "The mail arrives!—hark! hark! the cheerful horn,
> To majesty announcing oil and corn;

Turnips and cabbages, and soap, and candles,
And, lo! each article great Cæsar handles!
Bread, cheese, salt, catchup, vinegar, and mustard,
Small beer and bacon, apple-pie and custard:
All, all, from Windsor greets his frugal grace,
For Weymouth is a d—d expensive place."

According to the satirist, no occasion of driving a hard bargain was suffered to escape, even if the royal visitor met with it in his ordinary walks. Thus he meets with a drove of cattle, carrying to the market for sale:—

"A batch of bullocks!—see great Cæsar run:
He stops the drover—bargain is begun.
He feels their ribs and rumps—he shakes his head—
'Poor, drover, poor—poor, very poor indeed!'
Cæsar and drover haggle—diff'rence split—
How much?—a shilling! what a royal hit!
A load of hay in sight! great Cæsar flies—
Smells—shakes his head—'Bad hay—sour hay'—he buys.
'Smell, Courtown—smell—good bargain—lucky load—
Smell, Courtown—sweeter hay was never mow'd.'
A herd of swine goes by!—'Whose hogs are these?
Hay, farmer, hay?'—'Yours, measter, if you pleaze.'
'Poor, farmer, poor—lean, lousy, very poor—
Sell, sell, hay, sell?'—'Iss, measter, to be zure:
My pigs were made for zale, but what o' that?
You caall mun *lean;* now, zur, I caall mun *vat*—
Measter, I baant a starling—can't be cort;
You think, agosh, to ha the pigs vor *nort.*'
Lo! Cæsar buys the pigs—he slily winks—
'Hay, Gwinn, the fellow is not *caught,* he thinks—
Fool, not to know the bargain I have got!
Hay, Gwinn—nice bargain—lucky, lucky, lot!'".

On the 28th of November, 1791, appeared a brace of prints, reflecting on the household economy of the palace. In the first the King is represented in very uncourtly dishabille, preparing for breakfast by toasting

his own muffins; in the companion print, the Queen, in

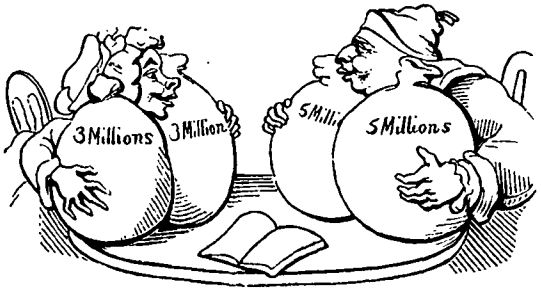
TOASTING MUFFINS.

homely garb, although her pocket is overflowing with money, is frying sprats for supper. A very clever cari-

FRYING SPRATS.

cature was published by Gillray, entitled "Anti-saccharites," in which the King and Queen are teaching their daughters to take their tea without sugar, as "a noble example of economy." The princesses have a look of great discontent, but their royal mother

exhorts them to persevere; "Above all, remember how much expense it will save your poor papa." The King, delighted with the experiment, exclaims, "O delicious! delicious!" This print appeared on the 27th of March, 1792; on the 28th of the following July, the same artist produced a beautiful plate under the title of "Temperance enjoying a frugal meal," in which the King and Queen are seated at their table, eating eggs, and breakfasting with the greatest frugality out of the most sumptuous utensils. All the accessories of the picture offer innumerable examples of the saving habits of the illustrious pair.* Their avaricious disposition, especially that of the Queen (who was never very popular), had now become proverbial. Thus, in a print published on the 24th of May, 1792, entitled "Vices overlooked in the new proclamation," avarice is represented by King George and Queen Charlotte hugging their hoarded millions



AVARICE.

in mutual satisfaction, with a book of interest-tables beside them. This print is divided into four compartments, representing avarice—drunkenness, exemplified

* Gillray at the same time published a companion plate, representing the voluptuousness of the Prince of Wales, and entitled, "A voluptuary under the horrors of digestion." Both these caricatures are rare, and are sought for as two of his best works.

in the person of the Prince of Wales,—gambling, the favourite amusement of the Duke of York,—and debauchery, the Duke of Clarence and Mrs. Jordan,—as the four vices of the royal family of Great Britain.

King George was remarkable for slovenliness of manners, for his ungraceful and undignified carriage, for a love of entering into conversation with people of all ranks, and for the volubility with which he poured upon them his *naïve* and often pointless questions. The latter qualification is well known to all readers of the verses of Peter Pindar. It was reported that Dr. Johnson, after his first interview with the King, privately expressed his opinion of the King's intellectual qualities in the following terms:—"His Majesty seems to be possessed of some good nature and *much curiosity;* as for his *nous*, it is not contemptible. His Majesty, indeed, was *multifarious* in his *questions;* but, thank God! he *answered them all himself.*" This royal curiosity furnished everlasting subjects for the poet and the caricaturist, and the one might be made to illustrate the other through page after page. A caricature, published by Gillray on the 10th of February, 1795, represents an example of royal "affability." The King and Queen, in their rural walks, arrive at a dirty hut, the occupant of which, no very high sample of humanity, is feeding his pigs with wash. The vacant

ROYAL AFFABILITY.

stare on his countenance shews him overwhelmed with the rapid succession of royal interrogatives,—"Well, friend, where a' you going, hay?—what's your name, hay?—where d' ye live, hay?—hay?"

These satirical attacks on royal manners were continued through the whole of the revolutionary period, and anywhere but in England they could not have failed to bring the person of the sovereign into contempt. The King's familiarity of manners, approaching to vulgarity, was exhibited in another caricature by Gillray, published in the month of June, 1797, representing a scene on the esplanade at Weymouth. The King, distinguished by his awkward and shuffling gait (which is not much exaggerated in the picture), has a word to say to every one of the crowd through which he is walking. The constant practice of taking the air in unceremonious excursions, and his great attachment to hunting, gave frequent occasions for bringing forth these qualities of the King, and led to scenes of a ridiculous kind. One of these furnished the subject of a caricature, published on the 2nd of November, 1797, representing his Majesty "learning to make apple dumplings." The King, in his pursuit of the chase, is represented as having arrived at the cottage of an old woman, occupied in a manner which is said to have drawn forth exclamations of astonishment from the curious and ad-

A KING.

miring monarch; "Hay! hay! apple dumplings! — how get the apples in?—how? are they made without seams?" This subject had already been treated by Peter Pindar:—

THE KING AND THE APPLE DUMPLINGS.

"Once on a time, a monarch, tir'd with hooping,
Whipping, and spurring,
Happy in worrying
A poor, defenceless, harmless buck,
(The horse and rider wet as muck),
From his high consequence and wisdom stooping,
Enter'd through curiosity a cot,
Where sat a poor old woman and her pot.
The wrinkled, blear-ey'd, good, old granny,
In this same cot, illum'd by many a cranny,
Had finish'd apple dumplings for her pot:
In tempting row the naked dumplings lay,
When, lo! the monarch in his usual way,
Like lightning spoke, 'What this? what this? what? what?'
Then taking up a dumpling in his hand,
His eyes with admiration did expand;
And oft did majesty the dumpling grapple:
'Tis monstrous, monstrous hard, indeed!' he cried;
'What makes it, pray, so hard?'—The dame replied,
Low curtseying, 'Please your majesty, the apple.'
'Very astonishing indeed!—strange thing!'
Turning the dumpling round, rejoined the king,—
''Tis most extraordinary then, all this is—
It beats Pinetti's conjuring all to pieces—

Strange I should never of a dumpling dream!
But, Goody, tell me where, where, where 's the seam?'
'Sir, there 's no seam,' quoth she; 'I never knew
That folks did apple dumplings *sew*.'
'No!' cried the staring monarch with a grin,
'How, how the devil got the apple in?'
On which the dame the curious scheme reveal'd
By which the apple lay so sly conceal'd,
Which made the Solomon of Britain start;
Who to the palace with full speed repair'd,
And queen, and princesses so beauteous, scar'd,
All with the wonders of the dumpling art.
There did he labour one whole week, to show
The wisdom of an apple dumpling maker;
And, lo! so deep was majesty in dough,
The palace seem'd the lodging of a baker!"

In the caricatures on more general subjects of a later period than that of which we are now speaking, we shall often find these personal weaknesses of the royal family—the love of money, the homely savings, the familiar air, the taste for gossip—introduced. A caricature by Gillray, published in 1792, after the

JOYFUL NEWS.

arrival of the news of the defeats of Tippoo Saib in India, represents Dundas, in whose province the Indian affairs lay, bringing the joyful intelligence to the royal

huntsman and his consort. It is entitled, "Scotch Harry's News; or, Nincompoop in high glee." The exulting secretary of state, who is thus designated, announces that "Seringapatam is taken—Tippoo is wounded—and millions of pagodas secured." The vulgar-looking King, with a strange mixture of ideas of Indian news and hunting, breaks out into a loud —"Tally ho! ho! ho! ho!" while his queen, whose head is running entirely on the gain likely to result from these new conquests, exclaims, "O the dear, sweet pagodas!"

The caricaturist who thus burlesqued royalty, had a pique against George III., very similar to that of Hogarth against George II. Gillray had accompanied Loutherbourg into France, to assist him in making sketches for his grand picture of the siege of Valenciennes. On their return, the King, who made great pretensions to be a patron of the arts, desired to look over their sketches, and expressed great admiration of the drawings of Loutherbourg, which were plain landscape sketches, finished sufficiently to be perfectly intelligible. But when he came to Gillray's rough but spirited sketches of French officers and soldiers, he threw them aside with contempt, merely observing, "I dont understand these caricatures." The mortified artist took his revenge by publishing a large print of the King examining a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, executed by Cooper, to which he gave the title of "A connoisseur examining a Cooper." The royal countenance exhibits a curious mixture of astonishment and alarm as he contemplates the features of the great overthrower of kings, whose name was at this moment put forth as the watchword of revolutionists. The King is burning a candle-end on a save-all! This

print was published on the 18th of June, 1792; Gillray, who had not the same dependence on court as Sayer, who was much inferior to him in talent, seldom loses an opportunity of turning the King to ridicule.

Nor did Pitt always escape his satire. The young minister, who had so suddenly risen to the summit of power, and now somewhat haughtily lorded it over his fellow statesmen, seems to have given offence to the artist, who, on the 20th of December, 1791, caricatured him as an upstart fungus, springing suddenly out of the hot-bed of royal favour, which is somewhat rudely compared to a dunghill. The print is entitled "An excrescence—a fungus, — *alias*, a toad-stool upon a dunghill." The thin meagre figure of the prime minister was no less fruitful a matter for jest, than that of his fat and slovenly opponent, Fox. In one of Gillray's prints, dated the 16th of March, 1792, that caricaturist has seized upon an equivocal phrase in one of the statesman's speeches, and, under the title of a "bottomless pitt," has given us a characteristic sketch of his figure and his gesture.

A FUNGUS.

"A BOTTOMLESS PITT."

The determination of the English court to resist all demands for reform, and to turn a deaf ear to popular

complaints, had the natural effect of provoking agitation. The opposition in parliament, in spite of many defections, became, under its old leaders, Fox and Sheridan, and some of the young and rising debaters, such as Grey, Erskine, Lord Lauderdale, Whitbread, and others, louder and more menacing. Within parliament, every question that would admit of a debate, was contested with the greatest obstinacy. The session of 1792 was first occupied with the foreign policy of the preceding year, which, whether in Europe or in India, was analyzed and bitterly attacked. Wilberforce's question of the abolition of negro slavery embarrassed the ministers, whose chief argument against it was that it numbered among its advocates some of the revolutionary reformers, and among the rest Thomas Paine; they disposed of it eventually by a motion for gradual abolition. The detection of a number of flagrant instances of improper interference in elections gave a new force to the question of parliamentary reform, which was brought forwards at the end of April by Grey and Fox, and violently opposed by Pitt, and by Burke. The arguments reproduced by each successive speaker on the ministerial benches was the impolicy of the time at which the question was brought forwards, and the danger of making concessions to popular violence; and the court in 1792, seemed resolved to raise the reputation and importance of Thomas Paine and his "Rights of Man," in the same way it had, more than twenty years before, raised up John Wilkes, his *North Briton*, and his "Essay on Woman." Burke, who opposed this motion with great warmth, and who declared his belief that the House of Commons was as perfect as human nature would permit it to be, flew out against French revolutionists,

and English political societies, and talked of the factious men with which England abounded, and who were urging this country towards blood and confusion. In the heat of party faction, the ministers exaggerated greatly the real danger they had to apprehend from people of this description, while it was equally undervalued by their opponents.

If, however, the question of parliamentary reform was, in point of numbers, weakly supported in the house, it was making substantial advances among people out of doors. In the debates in the House of Commons, Fox took every occasion of reminding those who were now in power of their advocacy of reform when in opposition, and especially recalled to their memory a meeting on the subject, held at the Thatched House Tavern, in 1782, when Pitt and the Duke of Richmond had joined hand in hand with Major Cartwright and Horne Tooke. These men had there been as decided instigators of sedition as those to whom they now applied the epithet. But a few years of gratified ambition had made Pitt and Richmond the most resolute opponents of liberal measures, while Cartwright * and Tooke, who had not been exposed to the same seductions, continued to walk

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

* The figure of Major Cartwright is taken from a print attributed to Gillray, published in 1784, in which he is caricatured as "the Drum-major of Sedition."

in their old path. Parliamentary reform had now become the watchword of several of the political clubs, which were increasing in numbers, as well as in the violence of their language. A few weeks had seen the formation of the "Corresponding Society," which placed itself in immediate communication with some of the most violent clubs in Paris, and which openly demanded universal suffrage and annual parliaments; and now, in the month of April, 1792, arose the "Society of the Friends of the People," which was more moderate in its language and demands, and counted in its ranks several noblemen and leading members of parliament, and many other persons distinguished in literature and science. It was at the desire of this latter society, that Grey and Erskine, who were both members, brought the question of reform before the House of Commons, in the spring of 1792; and it was resolved that they should bring forward a more formal motion on the subject in the ensuing session.

The ministry dreaded the way in which the opposition was thus strengthening itself with political associations, and determined to take measures to counteract them, and to suppress the quantity of inflammatory materials which were now spread about the country in the shape of seditious writings. The gradual and effective manner in which the ministers paved their way for hostile steps against sedition at home and designs from abroad, by addressing themselves to people's passions, and exciting their apprehensions, is deserving of admiration. They even contrived to make the odium of sedition recoil heavily upon the heads of the leaders of the opposition in parliament, who were represented as nourishing concealed views of ambition, and as

close imitators of the worst of the ultra-democrats of France. In a caricature by Gillray, published on the 19th of April, 1792, and entitled, "Patriots amusing themselves; or, Swedes * practising at a post." Fox and Sheridan are perfecting themselves in the use of fire-arms. Dr. Priestley stands behind, holding two pamphlets in his hand, entitled "On the glory of revolutions," and "On the folly of religion and order," and says to his colleagues, "Here's plenty of wadding for to ram down the charge with, to give it force, and to make a loud report." Fox, bearing the French cockade, with the inscription "*ça ira,*" is firing a

PATRIOTS AMUSING THEMSELVES.

blunderbuss; while Sheridan, loading his pistol, exclaims, "Well! this new game is delightful!—O heavens! if I could but once pop the post!—

> "Then you and me,
> Dear brother P.,
> Would sing with glee,
> Full merrily,
> *Ca ira! ça ira! ça ira!*"

The post at which they are shooting is rudely

* An allusion to the assassination of the King of Sweden, in the preceding year.

moulded into the form of King George, surmounted by the royal hunting cap. The success which these attempts on people's fears and prejudices met with, encouraged the ministry to proceed, and they soon ventured to make a direct attack on the liberty—or rather, in this case, on the licence of the press. On the 21st of May appeared a royal proclamation against seditious meetings and writings, but which was more especially aimed at the societies above alluded to. It spoke particularly of the correspondences said to be carried on with designing men in foreign parts, with a view to forward their criminal purposes in this country. This proclamation was violently condemned in parliament, by the opposition, as an injudicious and uncalled-for measure; and it produced debates in both houses, which shewed a number of desertions from the popular party. Among the most important in the House of Lords were the Duke of Portland and the Prince of Wales, who both spoke energetically in favour of the proclamation.

At this moment some divisions shewed themselves also in the midst of the ministerial camp. There had never been any cordiality between the premier and the chancellor, since the treacherous conduct of the latter on the occasion of the regency bill; and Thurlow not only spoke contemptuously of Pitt in private society, but he more than once attacked his measures in the house. The King had a great disinclination to parting with his chancellor, and things were allowed to go on for some time, until, in the session of 1792, the latter made a gross attack in the House of Lords on some of Pitt's law measures. It is even said that the King, knowing the mutual feelings of his two ministers, and attached by long habit to Thurlow, had

hesitated more than once which of them should be the sacrifice; but the Queen was a firm friend to Pitt, and when, at length, at the beginning of the session, the provoked premier forced the King to an alternative, it was notified to Thurlow that he must resign. Thurlow obeyed, much against his inclination; and, on account of business pending in the Court of Chancery, he consented to remain at his post till the end of the session. On the day of prorogation, the 15th of June, he gave up the seals, which were placed in commission, but which were subsequently given to his old rival Lord Loughborough, who was one of the deserters from the Whig phalanx. The caricatures on the dismissal of Thurlow were bitterly sarcastic. One by Gillray, published on the 24th of May, entitled "The fall of the Wolsey of the Woolsack," represents him engaged in a desperate struggle for the ensignia of office against the King and his two ministers, Pitt and Dundas. Another caricature by the same artist, published on the 9th of June, and entitled "Sin, Death, and the Devil," is a finely executed parody on the scene between those three characters in Milton, but it involves too coarse an outrage on the Queen, who is represented as the personification of Sin, rushing to separate the two combatants, Death (bearing the semblance of Pitt) and Satan (who exhibits the dark frowning countenance of Thurlow).

It was soon seen that Pitt's agitation against revolutionary principles had a further object than the mere repression of domestic sedition. The countenance shewn by the minister towards France was outwardly mysterious and equivocal, though not absolutely threatening; but in secret the English court was approving

if not abetting the continental confederacy, which was at the same moment forming with the avowed purpose of restoring monarchy in France by force of arms. A few months left no doubt that England had looked with favour upon the secret treaty of Pilnitz. On the appearance of the royal proclamation in May, the French ambassador, Chauvelin, who had but recently arrived in that capacity, made a formal remonstrance against that part of it which alluded to the correspondence with persons in foreign parts, as calculated to convey an impression that the English government gave credit to reports that France was a party to the seditious practices in England, and that England looked upon her neighbour with hostile feelings. The reply of the English secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Grenville, breathed the strongest sentiments of peace and amity, and was accompanied with expressions that gave great satisfaction to the French revolutionary government, which had suspected a secret understanding between the English court and those who were leaguing against it on the continent. Encouraged by Lord Grenville's language on this occasion, the French government made a subsequent application, through its ambassador, to engage the English King to use his good offices with his allies to avert the attack with which it was threatened from without. The reply on this occasion was conveyed in a much less satisfactory tone: Lord Grenville said, as an excuse for refusing to accede to the wishes of France, "that the same sentiments which engaged his Britannic majesty not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, equally tended to induce him to respect the rights and independence of other sovereigns, and particularly those of his allies." Down to

this moment the French government appears to have placed entire faith in the good intentions of this country; but the only sense which it could possibly make of this document was that it could no longer reckon on the friendship of England; and this, joined with the arrogant manifestoes now published by the courts of Berlin and Vienna, drove the French to desperation, destroyed entirely the little spirit of moderation that remained, and, no doubt, contributed to the disastrous scenes which followed.

The calamities of that unhappy country now succeeded one another in rapid succession. The proclamations of the allies declared very unadvisedly that for some months the King of France had been acting under constraint, and that he was not sincere in his concessions and declarations. This proceeding only tended to aggravate the French populace, and the fearful events of the 10th of August overthrew the throne, and established the triumph of democracy. The English ambassador was immediately recalled from Paris, on the pretext that his mission was at an end so soon as the functions of royalty were suspended. The French government still attempted to avert the hostility of England, and kept their ambassador in London, although the King and his ministers refused to acknowledge him in a public capacity. The horrible massacres of September quickly followed to add to the general consternation; and vast numbers of French priests and refugees flocked to this country, to attract the sympathy of Englishmen by their misfortunes, and increase the detestation of French republicanism by their reports of the atrocities which had driven them away. Various acts followed which shewed too clearly the inclination of the French to propagate their

opinions in other countries. In the National Convention, which was called together at the end of September, two members were elected from England, Thomas Paine and Dr. Priestley; the latter declined the nomination, but Paine accepted it, and proceeded to Paris to enter upon his legislative duties. Addresses and congratulations, couched in exaggerated and inflammatory language, were sent to the Convention from some of the English political societies, which laid those societies open to new suspicions; and these suspicions, and the fears consequent upon them, were increased by successes of the republican arms, and the arrogant tone now taken by the Convention itself. On the 19th of November the Assembly passed by acclamation, the famous decree, —"The National Convention decree, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who have suffered and are now suffering in the cause of liberty." This was a plain announcement of a universal crusade against all established and monarchical governments, and, though itself but an empty vaunt, was calculated greatly to increase the alarm which already existed in this country. The seed which had been sown so widely by Burke's "Reflections" was thus ripened into a deep hatred of France and Frenchmen, which was kept up by the activity of the government agents throughout the country. Anti-revolution societies were formed, and exerted themselves to spread the flame; and they published innumerable pamphlets, containing exaggerated narratives of the crimes committed in France, and a variety of other

subjects calculated to inflame men's passions in favour of the crown and the church. The political societies were described as secret conspiracies against the constitution, and, as the meeting of parliament approached, the ministers increased the panic by calling out the militia to protect the government against what were probably visionary dangers of conspiracy and revolt.

On the 13th of December, the session of parliament was opened with the evident prospect of a general war; and the King's speech spoke of plots and conspiracies at home fomented by foreign incendiaries, and announced that it had been considered necessary to augment the military and naval forces of the kingdom. The opposition, which had lost much in numbers, was warm, yet more moderate than usual in its language; it deplored the occurrence of seditious proceedings, wherever they existed, but blamed the government for magnifying imaginary dangers and for creating unnecessary alarm; it deprecated the haste with which ministers were hurrying the country into an unnecessary and, probably, a calamitous war, and urged the propriety of re-establishing the diplomatic communications between this country and France, with the hope of averting the disasters of war by means of friendly negotiations. All these efforts, however, were in vain; our ministers rejected the French offers of negotiation with contempt; and at the beginning of 1793, M. Chauvelin, whom the French still considered in the light of an ambassador, was ordered to leave the kingdom. When all hopes of avoiding hostilities between the two countries had vanished, the French Convention anticipated our government by a Declaration of War on the 1st of February, 1793.

In the caricatures and political prints of this period

we have abundant proofs of the exertions that were made in this country to raise up a hostile feeling against France and the revolution. The majority of these prints are coarse pictures of the sanguinary conduct of the French at home; of the miseries and atrocities of republicanism; of the altered condition of England, if French armies or republican propagandism should obtain the mastery. The guillotine, the dagger, the extempore gallows, the pike, and the firebrand, were exhibited in luxuriant profusion. In a plate published on the 21st of December, "French liberty" is compared with what the republicans of France and the political societies here so often designated as "English slavery:"—A jolly son of John Bull, surrounded with provisions and all kinds of comforts, is crying out with the fear of starvation and slavery, on one side; while on the other the hungry, ragged Frenchman is exulting in his own misery. The leaders of the opposition in Parliament, who were not daunted by the storm with which they had to contend, became marked objects of popular odium. They were the men who, it was represented, directed the secret weapon which was to strike at the constitution and prosperity of the country. A caricature published on the 12th of January, 1793, entitled "Sans-culottes feeding Europe with the bread of

COMPULSATORY FEEDING.

liberty," represents the French propagandists by force of arms compelling the various states around them to swallow loaves inscribed with the word "liberty;" in the middle group Sheridan and Fox, in the characters of sans-culottes, are driving two of these loaves at the point of daggers into the somewhat capacious throat of honest John Bull, who seems far from easy under the infliction. A caricature by Sayer, published on the 15th of December, under the title of "Loyalty against Levelling," represents the soldier and the sailor as being at this moment England's only defence against the infectious plague of republicanism.

The caricatures on the other side of the question, at this time, were few, and seem to have found little encouragement. On the same day, however, which produced the caricature by Sayer, just mentioned, the eccentric Gillray published one in an entirely different spirit. It represents Pitt working upon the terrors of John Bull, who carries in one arm a gun, while the other hand is deposited in his capacious pocket, and whose whole appearance bespeaks an alarm, with the reasons of which he is totally in the dark. That seditious writings had not totally seduced him, is evident from the contents of his waistcoat pockets, in one of which is the so much dreaded "Rights of Man," while the other contains one of the loyal pamphlets, entitled "A Pennyworth of Truth;" his estimate of the danger of cockades is evinced by the simplicity with which he has placed in juxtaposition on his hat the tricolor and the true blue, one inscribed, "Vive la liberté," the other, "God save the King." John Bull and his conductor are placed within a formidable fortification; the latter is looking through a glass at a flock of geese which are seen

scattered over the horizon, but which he has metamorphosed into an army of dangerous invaders. The terror of the minister is exhibited in his incoherent

A BRACE OF ALARMISTS.

exclamations: a burlesque on his speech at the opening of parliament,—"There, John! there! there they are! —I see them!—Get your arms ready, John!—they're rising and coming upon us from all parts;—there!—there's ten thousand sans-culottes now on their passage!—and there!—look on the other side, the Scotch have caught the itch too; and the wild Irish have began to pull off their breeches!—What will become of us, John!—and see there's five hundred disputing clubs with bloody mouths! and twenty thousand bill-stickers, with *Ca ira* pasted in the front of their red caps!—where's the Lord Mayor, John!—Are the lions safe?—down with the book-stalls!—blow up the gin-shops!—cut off the printers' ears!—O Lord, John!—O Lord! —we're all ruined!—they'll murder us, and make us into aristocrat pies!" John is alarmed because his master is frightened, but his own plain common sense is only half smothered by his fears.—"Aristocrat pies!—Lord defend us!—Wounds, measter, you

frighten a poor honest simple fellow out of his wits! gin-shops and printers ears!—and bloody clubs and Lord Mayors!—and wild Irishmen without breeches—and sans-culottes!—Lord have mercy upon our wives and daughters!—And yet I'll be shot if I can see anything myself but a few geese gabbling together.—But, Lord help my silly head, how should such a clod-pole as I be able to see anything right?—I don't know what occasion for I to see at all, for that matter;—why, measter does all that for I;—my business is only to fire when and where measter orders, and to pay for the gunpowder.—But, measter o' mine, (if I may speak a word,) where's the use of firing now?—What can us two do against all them hundreds of thousands of millions of monsters?—Lord, measter, had we not better try if they wont shake hands with us and be friends!—for if we should go to fighting with them, and they should lather us, what will become of you and I, then, measter!!!"

It must be confessed, however, that the French democrats on the other side of the channel, and the demagogues of the clubs on this side, almost daily gave new provocations to justify the conduct of the English government, and the fears which were now spreading universally through English society. It was becoming evident that no country could remain long at peace with the French republic. In the National Convention on the 28th of September, 1792, on the question of making Savoy into a department of France, Danton declared, amid the loud applauses of the assembly, "The principle of leaving conquered people and countries the right of choosing their own constitution ought to be so far modified, that we should expressly forbid them to give them-

selves Kings. *There must be no more Kings in Europe. One King would be sufficient to endanger the general liberty;* and I request that a committee be established for the purpose of promoting *a general insurrection among all people against Kings.*" It was in this spirit that the republican government always made a distinction between the English people and their King and minister; and showed an inclination to correspond and treat with the people rather than with their governors. It was William Pitt and King George, and their aristocrats, they said, who alone were their enemies; it was they alone who made war, and the English people were to be appealed to against them. When General Santerre made his farewell address to the National Convention on the 18th of May, 1793, on his departure to act against the royalist insurgents in La Vendée, he concluded with the words, "After the counter-revolutionists shall have been subdued, a hundred thousand men may readily make a descent on England, there to proclaim an appeal to the English people on the present war." Similar doctrines were propagated by the revolutionary societies in England, who corresponded with the democrats of Paris as with brothers, and who, in the latter part of 1792, were exceedingly active. Before his election to the National Convention, Paine published the second part of his "Rights of Man," in which he boldly promulgated principles which were utterly subversive of government and society in this country. This pamphlet was spread through the kingdom with extraordinary industry, and was thrust into the hands of people of all classes. We are told that, as a means of spreading the seditious doctrines it contained, some of the most objectionable parts were

printed on pieces of paper, which were used by republican tradesmen to wrap their commodities in, and that they were thus employed even in wrapping up sweetmeats for children. Proceedings were immediately taken against its author, who was in Paris, for a libel against the government and constitution, and Paine was found guilty. He was defended with great ability by Erskine, who, when he left the court, was cheered by a crowd of people who had collected without, some of whom took his horses from his carriage, and dragged him home to his house in Serjeant's Inn. The name and opinions of Thomas Paine were at this moment gaining influence, in spite of the exertions made to put them down.

In his speech in court, Erskine acknowledged that the voice of the country was against him. The feeling of resistance to republican propagandism in England, had, indeed, become universal, and the number of loyal societies formed for the purpose of counteracting sedition, and said to have in many instances received direct encouragement from the government, was increased. Of these the most remarkable was the "Society for preserving liberty and property against republicans and levellers," which held its meetings at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, and which had distributed abroad penny tracts in large numbers. These consisted of popular replies to the insidious doctrines propagated by the disciples of Paine, of encomiums on the excellence and advantages of the British constitution, of narratives of the horrible atrocities perpetrated by the republicans in France, and of exhortations to order and obedience. One of the most celebrated and successful of these publications was the tract entitled "Thomas Bull's One penny-worth of

Truth, addressed to his brother John." These tracts were often accompanied with loyal and anti-revolutionary songs, such as the following, which was one of the most popular :—

"A WORD TO THE WISE.

"The Mounseers, they say, have the world in a string,
They don't like our nobles, they don't like our King;
But they smuggle our wool, and they 'd fain have our wheat,
And leave us poor Englishmen nothing to eat.
Derry down, &c.

"They call us already a province of France,
And come here by hundreds to teach us to dance:
They say we are heavy, they say we are dull,
And that beef and plum-pudding 's not good for John Bull?
Derry down, &c.

"They jaw in their clubs, murder women and priests,
And then for their fishwives they make civic feasts;
Civic feasts! what are they?—why, a new fashion'd thing,
For which they remove both their God and their King.
Derry down, &c.

"And yet there 's no eating, 'tis all foolish play,—
For when pies are cut open, the birds fly away;
And Frenchmen admire it, and fancy they see
That Liberty's perch'd at the top of a tree.
Derry down, &c.

"They say, man and wife should no longer be one,—
'Do you take a daughter, and I 'll take a son,'—
And as all things are equal, and all should be free,
'If your *wife* don't suit you, sir, perhaps she 'll suit *me*.'
Derry down, &c.

"But our women are virtuous, our women are fair,
Which is more than they tell us your Frenchwomen are;
They know they are happy, they know they are free,
And that Liberty's not at the top of the tree.
Derry down, &c.

"Then let 's be united, and know when we 're well,
Nor believe all the lies these Republicans tell.
They take from the rich, but don't give to the poor,
And to all sorts of mischief they 'd open the door.
Derry down, &c.

"Our soldiers and sailors will answer these sparks,
Though they threaten Dumourier shall spit us like larks;
True Britons don't fear them, for Britons are free,
And know Liberty 's not to be found on a tree,
Derry down, &c.

"Ye Britons, be wise, as you 're brave and humane,
You then will be happy without any *Paine*.
We know of no despots, we 've nothing to fear,
For this new-fangled nonsense will never do here.
Derry down, &c.

"Then stand by the Church, and the King, and the Laws;
The old Lion still has his teeth and his claws;
Let Britain still rule in the midst of her waves,
And chastise all those foes who dare call her sons slaves.
Derry down, &c."

The success of these tracts was so complete, and the opposition to government so much weakened, that it began to be believed that the year ninety-two would see the end of faction, and that there would be nothing but unity and loyalty in

"NINETY-THREE.*

"All true honest Britons, I pray you draw near;
Bear a bob in the chorus to hail the new year;
Join the mode of the times, and with heart and voice sing
A good old English burden—'tis 'God save the King!'
Let the year Ninety-three
Commemorated be
To time's end; for so long loyal Britons shall sing,
Heart and voice, the good chorus of 'God save the King!'

* This song was composed by Charles Dibden.

" See with two different faces old Janus appear,
To frown out the old, and smile in the new year;
And thus, while he proves a well-wisher to crowns,
On the loyal he smiles, on the factious he frowns.
For in famed Ninety-three,
Britons all shall agree,
With one voice and one heart in a chorus to sing,
Drowning faction and party in 'God save the King!'

" Some praise a new freedom imported from France:—
Is liberty taught, then, like teaching to dance?
They teach freedom to Britons!—our own right divine!—
A rushlight might as well teach the sun how to shine!
In famed Ninety-three,
We 'll convince them we 're free!
Free from every licentiousness faction can bring;
Free with heart and with voice to sing 'God save the King!'

" Thus here, though French fashions may please for a day,
As children prize playthings, then throw them away;
In a nation like England they never do hurt;
We improve on the ruffle by adding the shirt!
Thus in famed Ninety-three
Britons all shall agree,
While with one heart and voice in loud chorus they sing,
To improve '*Ca ira*' into 'God save the King!'"

The same activity in resistance to the invasion of French principles produced a new host of caricatures. These were more personal than the songs and tracts. The trial, which had caused very considerable sensation in the country, brought a number of caricatures upon Paine. It had been preceded, on the 10th of December, by a fine print by Gillray entitled "Tom Paine's nightly pest," which was so well received that it was published in imitations and pirated copies. The republican stay-maker, and so-called citizen of the world, was represented reposing on his bed of straw, and dreaming of judges' wigs, and of all sorts of

horrors, fears, and punishments. At his bed-head are two guardian angels, presenting the well-known faces of Fox and Priestley. On the 2nd of January, another caricature, entitled "Fashion for ease; or, a good constitution sacrificed for a fantastic form," represents Paine fitting Britannia with a new pair of stays. The

BRITANNIA IN STAYS.

lady appears to suffer under the operation, and she keeps herself steady by clinging to a ponderous oak. Over the door of a cottage on one side is the sign, "Thomas Paine, stay-maker, from Thetford — Paris modes by express." Paine did not venture to return to England, nor did his popularity in France last long; by advocating leniency towards the unfortunate king, he fell under the hatred of the violent party, and was soon after thrown into a dungeon by Robespierre and his associates. In his confinement he composed the most blasphemous of his books, the "Age of Reason." An accident alone saved him from the guillotine; and he sought his last asylum in America, where he lived many years to publish harmless abuse of the laws and institutions of his native country.

In the caricatures of the year 1793, Fox and Sheridan are the two extreme leaders of sedition—the advocates and companions of Paine—pictured *literally* in the character of sans-culottes. The fallen hopes of the great chief of the opposition had given birth, on the 2nd of January, to a caricature by Gillray in which Fox, as the despairing Christian, eager for place and not obtaining it, with his eyes fixed on the glorious paradise of patriots, the Treasury, is sinking into the "slough of despond." On the 1st of March, the same artist pictured him as "a democrat"—a veritable sans-culotte in all the perfection of vulgarity of which that character was thought susceptible. This print is said to have given especial offence to Fox. Others represented him in all the different phases of sans-culottism. In one he was a sans-culotte advocate—"The solicitor-general for the French Republic"—studying the directions for its defence.—"1st. Insist we have done everything we ought to have done. 2nd. They have provoked us, neglected, and treated us with scorn. 3rd. How desirous we were of peace, fraternity, and equality: N.B., not to mention our underhand proceedings. 4th. Soften the massacres. 5th. Abuse our adversaries. 6th. If likely to terminate against us, to demur to the matter of form, or move an arrest in judgment." In another, he is represented with his *bonnet rouge* and his tricolor cockade, armed cap-a-pie with every instrument of rebellion and destruction, as "The Republican Soldier;" his "head-quarters, the Crown and Anchor—parole, Reform—countersign, Anarchy." The result of his efforts was represented in a clever print by Gillray, on the 30th of March, entitled, "Dumourier dining in state at St. James's," dedicated "to the worthy members of the society at the

Crown and Anchor." It appears that the liberal party had their meeting also in this tavern. Gillray's print represents the republican general served at table by Fox, Sheridan, and Priestley. The first brings him the head of Pitt in a dish; Sheridan serves him with the crown in a pie; and Priestley offers him the mitre in a tart: all these dishes are garnished with frogs. Other caricatures exult over the fall of Fox's political power, and the desertions of many of his friends. One of these, published on the 7th of March, represents the two sans-culottes, Fox and Sheridan, discarded scornfully by their old ally the Prince of Wales, who, a repentant prodigal, is returning to his father's home; its title is, "False liberty rejected; or, fraternizing and equalizing principles discarded—no more coalitions—no more French cut-throats." The desertion of Burke, and his continued philippics against the French, were no less a subject of exultation; it was represented that his former associates were paralysed with fear lest he should divulge their secrets, and denounce their designs. In one of Gillray's caricatures, dated on the 19th of March, Burke is pictured as the "Chancellor of the Inquisition marking the incorrigibles." On one side is seen the door of the Crown and Anchor, (the haunt of the Anti-Revolutionary Society,) inscribed as the "British Inquisition." Burke, in his new character, is writing the "Black List.—Beware of N—rf—k! P—tl—d loves us not! The R—ss—ls will not join us! The man of the people has lived too long for us! The friends of the people must be blasted by us! Sheridan, Ersk . . . ." Here we trace the hand of the denouncer no further. Fox's private circumstances were, in the meantime, becoming more and more embarrassed, and the great statesman—for great statesman

he certainly was—was reduced to a condition of absolute poverty. He was obliged for a while to resign even the trifling luxuries of life, and it was doubtful if he would not be compelled to retire from public business. His friends, however, interfered, and in the summer of 1793, a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor to take his distressed condition into consideration. The popularity which he still enjoyed was proved by a large subscription, with which an annuity was purchased for him. His enemies laughed at his wants, and mocked the charity by which he was supported, in several caricatures published at the beginning of June. One of these, published by Gillray on the 12th of June, bore the title, "Blue and Buff Charity; or, the patriarch of the Greek clergy applying for relief." The chairman of the committee for raising a pension for "the champion of liberty," Mr. Sergeant Adair, is doling out to Fox a bundle of unpaid bonds, dishonoured bills, and other worthless paper; while the receiver is surrounded by the figures of Earl Stanhope, Dr. Priestley, Horne Tooke, and M. A. Taylor. The secretary of the Blue and Buff Charity committee was Mr. Hall, formerly an apothecary in Long Acre, known politically by the sobriquet of "Liberty Hall:" he had married the daughter of the eccentric Lord Stanhope, who chose to prove his sincere love of the French principle of equality and fraternity by marrying his child with a plebeian. Mr. Hall is represented in the caricature as a ragged personage, with a phial in his pocket containing poison for Pitt.

Under all these circumstances,—the people influenced by fear on one side and prejudice on the other,—the old popular questions of agitation in parliament had no longer any chance of success. Economy, liberty,

reform, were hooted as so many synonyms for spoliation, murder, and republicanism. At the beginning of the year, (Jan. 8, 1793,) the history of reform—if it were allowed to proceed—was represented in a large print in three compartments. First was "Reform advised:" the portly figure of John Bull, seated in the midst of comforts, enjoys his beef and plum-pudding, and is only interrupted by three ragged hunters of liberty, who advise him to seek reform. In the second compartment, "Reform begun," John has entered on the path thus pointed out to him, but the prospect is not encouraging; he is reduced in his personal appearance, and hobbles forward on a wooden leg; his three advisers have become victorious mob-revolutionists, they force him, with daggers and clubs, to eat frogs, a diet to which he has evidently some difficulty in accustoming himself. The movement once begun. John has no longer the power to halt: "Reform Compleat" follows, and his three advisers, with the torches of incendiarism blazing in their hands, have thrown him down and are trampling him under their feet.

Such were to be the effects of reform, according to the tracts spread abroad by the anti-revolution societies; and they inculcated the duty of unbounded gratitude to the minister then at the helm, who had saved them from such disasters, and shielded them against such advisers. In one of Gillray's best caricatures, published on the 8th of April, Pitt is represented steering the bark of Britannia, in a mean and safe course through the dangers with which it was threatened, on one side by republicanism, and on the other by despotism, and making direct for the "haven of public happiness." The print is entitled, "Britannia between Scylla and Charybdis; or, The vessel of the

constitution steered clear of the rock of democracy, and the whirlpool of arbitrary power." The ship is closely followed by three "sharks, dogs of Scylla," presenting the features of Fox, Sheridan, and Priestley.

The Reign of Terror which now prevailed in France, was but too vivid a commentary on these exaggerated representations of the dangers of political innovation.

Nevertheless, the war in which this country had engaged was far from being popular. It was soon seen that our government had hurried into it without being well prepared for hostilities, and that they carried it on without much skill. A body of English troops, under the Duke of York, had been sent into Flanders to co-operate with our German allies, but proceedings on both sides were for a while guided almost more by accident than by design, and a considerable diversion was made at the beginning of April by the defection of the French commander Dumourier, who left the service of the republic to throw himself into the hands of the Austrians. Gillray, who was in Flanders about this time, represented the "Fatigues of the campaign in Flanders," in May, in a jovial picture of drinking and licentiousness. Many began to compare the small advantages war was likely to bring us, with its expenses and its evils. On the 3rd of June, Gillray embodied this sentiment in a print in four compartments, representing the various scenes of "John Bull's progress" in war. At first he appears happy and contented at home, in the midst of his family; then, persuaded that his duty calls him off, he marches away boldly to encounter his enemies; next, while the war is prolonged abroad, we are introduced to his home, where his family are reduced by distress to carry all their goods to the pawnbroker; and,

lastly, when John returns, ragged and crippled, he finds his family in as great misery as himself. Towards the end of the year, when the allies began to experience reverses, the caricatures, on one side against the war, and on the other against the French, became more numerous. Success seemed even to have quitted our old safeguard the navy. Howe had cruised the seas with an English fleet for some weeks, and was popularly accused of having allowed the French fleet to slip away from him out of Brest Harbour, for which he was severely attacked in several caricatures. The populace believed that French gold alone had saved the republican navy; and Gillray represented the British admiral blinded by a shower of guineas, in a print, published on the 10th of December, and entitled, "A French hail storm; or, Neptune losing sight of the Brest fleet." On the 10th of February, 1794, a still bolder caricature, by the same artist, entitled "Pantagruel's victorious return to the court of Gargantua," ridicules the warlike expedition of the Duke of York. The Duke, returned from his Flemish campaign, brings to his royal father the keys of Paris. The monarch is seated carelessly on his throne, in his hunting garb, to intimate that affairs of state were not his favourite amusement. In a room behind, we perceive the Queen carefully hoarding her treasures, and receiving further contributions from the spirit of evil. Pitt is contriving new taxes, "Not to be felt by the swinish multitude." This last phrase, which had been uttered by Burke in his violent declamations against democratic agitation, was long remembered by the popular politicians, and became subsequently a sort of watch-word to the ultra-reformers.

In the beginning of 1794, France, by immense exertions, had rendered itself a formidable enemy to the rest of Europe, and England itself was seized with the fear of invasion. Within a few months, indeed, the French had invaded, with success, nearly every country that bordered upon the French territory. Howe's victory of the 1st of June, came fortunately to support the spirits of Englishmen, who, however, had already become tired of the war. The opposition in parliament now raised their heads with exultation, and accused the ministry of rashness and imbecility. The ministerial party subsidized abroad, and raised soldiers at home, and they affected to laugh at their parliamentary opponents, as a parcel of quacks, who thought they possessed a nostrum against all the evils with which the country was ever threatened. This nostrum, they said, was Charles Fox, to be applied as prime minister. It was an old superstition among the people of Naples, when their fearful neighbour Vesuvius burst into eruption, to bring forth the head of their patron saint, Januarius, and hold it forth as a safe shield against the danger. Fox was, as it were, the political St. Januarius of the English liberals. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 25th of July, 1794, and entitled, "The eruption of the mountain, or the Head of the protector St. Januarius carried in procession by the Cardinal Archevêque of the Lazzaroni," represents the political volcano that was overwhelming and threatening with destruction the nations of the earth, while the head of Fox is brought forth by his followers to stop the course of the danger. The cardinal who officiates is Sheridan; Lord Lauderdale carries the book, bell, and candle; the Duke of Norfolk assists with his earl-marshal's staff; Lord H. Petty and Lord

Derby support the cardinal's train; Lord Stanhope brings up the rear; and a then well-known general personates a cur which always smelt fire.

Encouraged by its strength in parliament, and by the conservative spirit that had been spread through the country, the court had proceeded to measures of domestic policy, the wisdom of which might well admit of a doubt. The trial of Thomas Paine was the commencement of a series of state prosecutions, not for political offences but for political designs. To the name of Paine had been given such unenviable notoriety, and it had caused so much apprehension in the minds of quiet people, that his case excited personally no great sympathy, though many dreaded the extension of the practice of making the publication of a man's abstract opinions criminal, when unaccompanied with any direct or open attempt to put them into effect. In the beginning of 1793, followed prosecutions in Edinburgh, where the ministerial influence was great, against men who had associated to do little more than call for reform in Parliament; and two persons, whose crimes consisted chiefly in having read Paine's "Rights of Man," and in having expressed partial approbation of his doctrines, were transported severally for fourteen and seven years! These men had been active in the political societies, and it was imagined that, by an individual injustice of this kind, these societies would be intimidated. Such, however, was not the case, for, from this moment, the clubs in Edinburgh became more violent than ever, and they certainly took a more dangerous character; so that, before the end of the year, there was actually a "British Convention" sitting in the Scottish capital. This was dissolved by force at the beginning of 1794, and two of its mem-

bers were added to the convicts already destined for transportation. Their severe sentences provoked warm discussions in the English Parliament, but the ministers were inexorable in their resolution to put them in execution. In the similar prosecutions which they now commenced in England, the Court was less successful. A bookseller of London, who had published a pamphlet of a democratic tendency, entitled "Politics for the People; or, Hog's-wash," and some violent democrats of Manchester, for an alleged conspiracy, were all acquitted by the juries which tried them; and in the latter case one of the government witnesses was subsequently convicted of perjury, and sentenced to the pillory. The public agitation was much increased by these prosecutions, and many parts of the country became the scene of serious riots; for there was always a mob for the prosecuted, and there was in general also a loyal mob—a mob for the prosecutors. This latter, in several instances, committed great outrages on the property of individuals. The illuminations in London, on the occasion of Lord Howe's victory, were attended with considerable uproar, and attacks were made on the houses of some of the so called revolutionists. It was generally believed that these attacks were made under direct incitement from persons of higher rank in society than those who engaged in them. The next day, the un-aristocratic and more than eccentric Lord Stanhope inserted the following advertisement in the newspapers:—

"OUTRAGE IN MANSFIELD STREET.

"Whereas an hired band of ruffians attacked my house in Mansfield Street, in the dead of the night, between the 11th and 12th of June instant, and set it on fire at different times; and whereas a

gentleman's carriage passed several times to and fro in front of my house, and the *aristocrat*, or other person who was in the said carriage, *gave money* to the people in the street, to encourage them; this is to request the Friends of Liberty and Good Order to send me any authentic information they can procure, respecting the names and place of abode of the said aristocrat, or other person, who was in the carriage above-mentioned, in order that he may be made amenable to the law. "STANHOPE."

Earl Stanhope, the "sans-culotte peer," figures in a multitude of caricatures, during this and subsequent years. In the one from which the accompanying cut is taken, published on the 3rd of May, 1794, he is represented as the fool of the opposition, holding for his bauble a standard with the inscription, "*Vive égalité!*" throwing away his breeches as a garment inconsistent with his sans-culottism, and trampling on his coronet. The print gives him the title of "The noble sans-culotte," and is accompanied with "a ballad occasioned by a certain earl's styling himself a sans-culotte citizen in the House of Lords."

A SANS-CULOTTE NOBLE.

"Rank, character, distinction, fame,
And noble birth, forgot,
Hear Stanhope, modest Earl, proclaim
Himself a sans-culotte.

"Of pomp and splendid circumstance
The vanity he teaches;
And spurns, like citizen of France,
Both coronet and breeches."

Lords Stanhope and Lauderdale were coupled together as the two advocates of extreme democratic principles in the House of Lords.

In the month of May, the government made a direct attack on two of the most violent and powerful of the London societies—the Corresponding Society and the Society for Constitutional Information. Some of their principal members, including the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, (Lord Stanhope's private secretary,) Horne Tooke, the afterwards celebrated political lecturer John Thelwall, Thomas Hardy, Daniel Adams, and three or four others, were arrested and thrown into the Tower on a charge of high-treason. The papers of the societies were seized, and laid by a royal message before parliament, and, on a very vague report of their contents, the ministers succeeded by their overwhelming majorities in carrying hurriedly that extreme measure under imminent danger, the suspension of the habeas corpus act. All this violence tended on the one hand to destroy public confidence, by disturbing the country with unnecessary terrors, while on the other it was hastening a reaction of the public mind against the temper into which it had been urged by conservative agitation.

The state-trials took place in the months of October, November, and December, and were the cause of very great excitement. The courts were crowded to excess, and mobs assembled out of doors. Hardy, who had been secretary of the Corresponding Society, was first brought to trial, which, after lasting eight days, ended on the 5th of November in an acquittal by the jury. The evidence amounted to nothing more than charging him with holding certain principles, which he had done in no manner that was absolutely illegal;

and, as it appeared, the papers of the society, on which so much stress had been laid, contained nothing that had not before been printed in the newspapers. Horne Tooke was next acquitted, on the 22nd of November; and the same fate attended all the other prosecutions. The Court, mortified at this check, relinquished some other similar proceedings which it had already commenced, and certainly gained no popularity by what it had done. Many, who were personally hostile to the opinions of the men prosecuted, rejoiced with others at their escape, and exulted in the courage and probity of English juries. The mob carried the prisoners and their legal defenders home from the court in triumph. The chief advocate in the defence, in these state prosecutions, was Erskine.

In the course of these unwise proceedings, the ministry had received strength from a modification in its ranks, and the admission of some of the more moderate of the old Whig party, who had separated from the Foxites at the same time and on the same grounds with Burke. In July, 1794, the Duke of Portland was made third secretary of state; Earl Fitzwilliam president of the council; Earl Spencer received the office of lord privy seal; and Mr. Windham was made secretary at war. In December following, the ministry underwent some other slight modifications, the chief of which arose from the appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam to the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and of Earl Spencer to be first lord of the Admiralty, in place of Pitt's elder brother, the Earl of Chatham, who took the privy seal in exchange.

CHAPTER XIII.

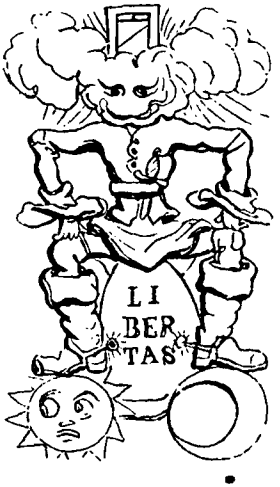
GEORGE III.

CLAMOURS FOR PEACE. — MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. — POPULAR SUBJECTS OF COMPLAINT; TAXES AND REFORM.—INSULT UPON THE KING. —BILL AGAINST SEDITIOUS MEETINGS.—GREAT MEETING IN COPENHAGEN FIELDS. — UNSUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. — NEW AGITATION AGAINST FRANCE AND REPUBLICANISM. — WINE AND DOG TAX. — THREATENED INVASION.—IRISH REBELLION.—NAVAL VICTORIES; BATTLE OF THE NILE.—UNION WITH IRELAND.—BONAPARTE FIRST CONSUL.

THE violent and unnatural agitation of the country towards extreme Toryism was now giving way to a gradual reaction, and with the year 1795 the opposition began for a moment to raise its head again. This was first shewn in the increased clamour for peace. Even some of those who sat on the ministerial benches, such as Wilberforce, expressed their dissatisfaction at the warlike tone in which the session was opened, and at the want of any expression of a pacificatory tendency in the speech from the Throne. The ministers, in defending themselves, spoke of making peace or alliance with a government like that of France as a thing to which England could hardly condescend; they said that no such peace could be lasting, and they held up again the bugbear of republican propagandism. During the spring, motion after motion was made in the House of Lords, as well as in the House of Commons, to force upon the attention of the Court the necessity of negotiating with our enemies on the other side of the water. The leaders of

the opposition lost no opportunity of agitating the question; and petitions against the war began to flow in from different parts of the country.

The Court had recourse to the old stratagem of exciting popular terror, and throwing discredit on the motives of the "patriots." Most of the old leaders of actual sedition had disappeared from the scene in one manner or other; even Dr. Priestley had now migrated to America; but Fox and Sheridan still fought their old battle in the House of Commons; and they found able supporters among the young statesmen who were now coming forward in the political world. The ministers represented that these men were betraying the interests of their country to France, out of a blind admiration of its republican institutions, and that it was the wish to see those institutions established at home which led them to advocate peace. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 26th of January, 1795, pictures Fox as a "French telegraph making signals in the dark," and pointing out to our enemies the way into our own strong-hold. Another, by the same artist, published on the 2nd of February, was entitled, "The Genius of France triumphant, or, Britannia petitioning for peace;" and represented Britannia offering her crown, sceptre, spear, shield, and liberties, at the foot of a *sans-culotte* monster, crowned with the guillotine, and resting its feet on the sun



AN OBJECT OF WORSHIP.

and moon. Behind her come Sheridan, bringing for his offering to this new object of worship the English navy, Fox, with the bank, and Lord Stanhope, bringing for his sacrifice the English Parliament. On the 2nd of March, Gillray depicted the consequences which we were to expect from thus truckling to our enemies in a large plate, entitled "Patriotic Regeneration, or, Parliament reformed *à la Française.*" In this "reformed" Parliament, Pitt is brought up as a culprit before the bar of the House, with Stanhope as public accuser, and Lord Lauderdale as executioner. Fox presides, with Sheridan as secretary, and Erskine as attorney-general. The body of the picture presents a wholesale scene of plunder and confusion. The three Whig lords, Grafton, Norfolk, and Derby, are burning Magna Charta and the Bible; and Lord Shelburne, who had long left the Tory camp, is weighing the cap of liberty against the crown.

Pitt's own caricaturist, Sayer, published on the 14th of April a series of what he entitled "Outlines of the Opposition in 1795, collected from the works of the most capital Jacobin artists." In the first of these prints, Wilberforce is represented in the character of a weathercock, blown round by the breath of republicanism till he stretches out his arms to "peace and fraternity with France,"—the dove bringing the olive-branch in its beak and the dagger in its claw. The next represents Whitbread, under the character of a barrel of his own beer, bursting and driving out the members of the House by its stink; in the fumes which issue from it we read the words "Reform," "Peace," "Liberty," "Equality," "No slave trade." The speaker, with averted head, is calling to order. In another, Lord Stanhope is formed into a vessel,

urged on by the monster of republicanism, but sailing against the "current of public opinion" and the breeze of "loyalty;" it is entitled "The Stanhope republican gunboat, constructed to sail against wind and tide." A fourth plate is entitled "The Bedford Level," and is aimed against the Duke of Bedford, now one of the most energetic opponents of the ministry, and who, on the 27th of January, had brought forward a motion in the House of Lords for negotiations for peace. At the entrance to Bedford House, a builder's level, inscribed "Liberty and Equality," is supported on the heads of a jockey seated on a saddle, and a sans-culotte seated on a pile of bags of money and a bundle of "title-deeds of estates in ——." Each figure wears the tricoloured cockade; and the latter of the two alludes to the liberality with which the duke expended his money in the "good cause." The next caricature of this series, entitled "A recruit for opposition from the *Temple* of British Worthies," represents Fox and Lord Derby enlisting the Duke of Buckingham. The diminutive Earl of Derby, mounted on a table, is measuring the Duke's height by the "standard of opposition;" Fox's flag is inscribed "Watchword, Peace;" the Duke shows Fox his terms, "Condition, to be first Lord of the Admiralty," and says,—

> "To Pitt I made my proposition,
> But he rejected the condition,
> So I enlist with Opposition."

The last of these plates is a ludicrous burlesque on the apprehension held out by the opposition that the French might be brought over to invade us in Dutch bottoms; the leaders, Fox, Sheridan, Lords Stanhope

and Lansdowne, and Watson Bishop of Landaff, are admiring the fine phantasmagoric effect produced by this contrivance.

Two caricatures by Gillray, which appeared at this period, involve bitter attacks on the opposition "patriots." The political and religious excitement of the time, with the wonderful events that were passing every day before people's eyes, led some persons into bold and extraordinary hallucinations, and drove others stark mad. When the pulpit of the more sober preachers of the gospel often resounded with denunciations in general terms of the designs of providence, as evinced in the dreadful storm that was now breaking over Europe, and they explained by them the unfulfilled prophecies of Scripture, we need not be surprised if there were others who believed themselves endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and who undertook to make known more fully the events of the coming age. Among these, one of the most remarkable was an insane lieutenant of the navy, named Richard Brothers, who declared that he was the "nephew of God," and that he had a divine mission, and boasted that he was unassailable by any human power. He announced that London was on the eve of being swallowed up and totally destroyed, and that immediately afterwards the Jews were to be gathered together into the promised land. It is extraordinary that an enthusiast like this should have been able to work upon the superstitious feelings of the populace so as to make him an object of apprehension to government; but it is said he was believed to have become the tool of faction, and that he was employed to seduce the people and to spread fears and alarms. On the 4th of March he was arrested by two King's

messengers and their assistants, and placed under restraint, though they had some difficulty in keeping off the mob, who attempted to rescue him. The next day Gillray published the first of the caricatures just alluded to, under the title of "The Prophet of the Hebrews;" but the Jews here carried to the land of promise are the leaders of the opposition in Parliament, who are borne away by the genius of revolution towards a fiery gallows that blazes in the distance. In the other caricature, published on the 30th of April, under the title of "Light expelling Darkness," Pitt appears drawn in glory by the lion and the unicorn, harnessed to a triumphal car, and trampling down or scattering before them the leaders of the opposition.

Another royal marriage came this year to relieve the monotony of the usual subjects of political agitation, and this was a marriage which affected still more the interests of the country,—that of the heir-apparent, the Prince of Wales. The prince appears to have been as much terrified as the people by the alarm-cry of the ministry, and he had for some time discontinued his support of the opposition in Parliament. The extravagance of his private life, however, had undergone no change, and he was again deeply involved in debt. It was under these circumstances that he was indueed to marry the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, and the marriage ceremonies were performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 8th of April. The Tories hoped that this marriage, which was understood to have been a favourite measure with the King, would entirely estrange the prince from his Whig connections, which they always pretended to be the sole cause of his private irregularities. A fine

print by Gillray, published a few days before the marriage, and entitled "The Lover's Dream," embodied these sentiments: on one side of the Prince's bed, Fox and Sheridan, his evil genii, are vanishing in darkness before the bright vision of beauty which bursts forth on the other side. The hopes which everybody placed in this union were sung about in joyful ballads, and exhibited with no less gladness in the windows of the print-shops. Yet its only result at the moment was a new application to Parliament for the payment of the prince's debts, and it eventually ended in domestic unhappiness and public scandal.

The two questions on which, after that of peace, the country was most agitated, were those of the increase of taxation and parliamentary reform. The necessarily great expenditure of the war, made greater by the utter want of economy shewn everywhere in the application of public money, and the extraordinary subsidies given to foreign governments to support them in their exertions against France, were now driving the minister to every kind of expedient to raise money. Taxes were levied upon articles which no one ever thought of taxing before. The most remarkable tax of this kind, granted by Parliament in the session of 1795, was the tax upon persons wearing hair-powder, a fashion which was then universal among all who laid claim to respectability in society. This tax could hardly be complained of as a serious burden, or even as a grievance; but it was chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary mistake which the minister committed in boasting of the great addition which it was to bring to the revenue; for the use of hair-powder was almost imme-

diately discontinued, and the produce of the tax was hardly worth the trouble of collecting it. It became at first a party distinction; the Whigs wore their hair cut short behind, and without powder, which was termed wearing the hair *à la guillotine;* while the Tories, who continued the use of the hair-powder, were called *guinea-pigs*, because one guinea was the amount per head of the tax. The hair-powder tax was the subject of many songs and *jeux-d'esprit*, as well as of several caricatures, which, from this time to the end of the century, became so numerous that they form a regular history of every event that agitated society, even in a trifling degree. The larger portion of the caricatures of the period alluded to were from the talented pencil and graver of Gillray, and are much superior to those of the preceding or following periods. The hair-powder tax was brought forward by Pitt on the 23rd of February; on the 10th of March, Gillray published a caricature under the title of "Leaving off Powder; or, a frugal family saving a guinea." An anonymous caricature, published on the 15th of June, represents Pitt under the character of "a guinea-pig," and Fox as "a pig without a guinea." On the 1st of June the artist just mentioned, in a caricature entitled "John Bull ground down," had represented Pitt grinding John Bull into money, which was flowing out in an immense stream beneath the mill. The Prince of Wales is drawing off a large portion to pay the debts incurred by his extravagance, while Dundas, Burke, and Loughborough, as the representatives of ministerial pensioners, are scrambling for the rest. King George encourages Pitt to grind without mercy. Another caricature by Gillray, published on the 4th of June, represents Pitt as Death on the white horse

(the horse of Hanover) riding over a drove of pigs, the representatives of what Burke had rather hastily termed the "swinish multitude." In a caricature, published on the 12th of June, under the title of "Blind Man's Buff; or, too many for John Bull," the minister is represented setting all the foreign powers on poor John to drain him of his money. A caricature on the different progressive stages of government, as exemplified in different countries, published on the 1st of September, represents it first as "The State Caterpillar," its rings composed of high offices, pensions, and other sources of extravagant expenditure, devouring England, Scotland, and Ireland, which are spread before it in the form of a cabbage-leaf; next it is represented in Holland, in its transition state, as a chrysalis; and lastly as a glorious butterfly in republican France. This allegory represented the sentiments then held by many on the progressive developments of the civil government, as the people advanced from despotism to liberty.

The popular discontent was increased by the great scarcity, and consequent dearness, of provisions, which began to be felt at the beginning of summer, and increased to an alarming degree during the autumn. From this cause, and from grievances connected with recruiting and press-gangs, there was much rioting throughout the country. Considerable uneasiness was caused at Birmingham and other places in that part of England in the month of June, by mobs demanding "cheap bread," which led in some cases to collisions with the military. Similar disturbances took place in London, and the feeling of dissatisfaction extended all over the country. The government appears to have taken no effectual measures against

the increasing distress; they merely recommended various expedients to lessen the consumption of bread, by employing other substances, and a bill was passed to prevent, for a period, distillation from grain; but the attention of Parliament was chiefly occupied with providing for the Prince of Wales. Pitt was said to have made the singular suggestion that people should eat meat to save bread; and a caricature, published on the 6th of July, represents the minister as the "British butcher," serving John Bull with dear meat to stop his cry for cheap bread. Beneath him is the epigram,—

"*Billy the Butcher's advice to John Bull.*

"Since bread is so dear (and you say you must eat),
For to save the expense you must live upon meat;
And as twelvepence the quartern you can't pay for bread,
Get a crown's worth of meat,—it will serve in its stead."

As winter approached, the agitation became still greater, and the numerous demagogues who addressed themselves to the populace and lower orders, took advantage of the general discontent to spread abroad their seditious opinions. A numerous meeting had been held in St. George's Fields in June to petition for annual parliaments and universal suffrage. This sort of agitation went on increasing, and the London

AN ORATOR.

Corresponding Society called a meeting on the 26th of October in Copenhagen Fields, where an immense multitude assembled to vote and sign addresses and remonstrances on the state of the country. Three wooden scaffolds were raised in different parts of the field, from which three of the orators of the populace addressed the assemblage in inflammatory language, which no doubt contributed towards urging them to the disgraceful outrage which followed three days later. The most active speaker was Thelwall, who had just escaped from prison.* The opening of parliament was looked forward to with great anxiety. It was called together early, on account of the extreme distress under which the country was labouring. As the time approached, popular meetings were held in the metropolis, and preparations were made for an imposing demonstration of mob force. During the morning of the 29th of October, the day on which the King was to open the session in person, crowds of men continued pouring into the town from the various open spaces outside, where simultaneous meetings had been called by placards and advertisements, and before the King left Buckingham House, on his way to St. James's, the number of people collected on the ground over which he had to pass is said in the papers of the day to have been not less than two hundred thousand. At first the state-carriage was allowed to move on through this dense mass in sullen silence, no hats being taken off, or any other mark of respect being shewn. This was followed by a general outburst of hisses and groans,

* A caricatured picture of this celebrated meeting, was published on the 16th of November, under the title of "Copenhagen House." The cut given in the preceding page is taken from this print, and is understood to represent Thelwall addressing the mob.

mingled with shouts of "Give us peace and bread!" "No war!" "No King!" "Down with him! down with George!" and the like; and this tumult continued unabated until the King reached the House of Lords, the Guards with difficulty keeping the mob from closing on the carriage. As it passed through Margaret Street the populace seemed determined to attack it, and when opposite the Ordnance Office, a shot of some kind, supposed to be a bullet from an air-gun, passed through the glass of the carriage-window. The tumult was, if anything, more outrageous on the King's return, and he had some difficulty in reaching St. James's Palace without injury; for the mob threw stones at the state-carriage and damaged it considerably. After remaining a short time at St. James's, he proceeded in his private coach to Buckingham House, but the carriage was stopped in the park by the populace, who pressed round it, shouting, "Bread! bread! peace! peace!" until the King was rescued from this unpleasant situation by a strong body of the Guards.

The Lords were much agitated at this gross insult offered to the royal person, and were some time before they could calm themselves sufficiently to proceed to business. The Tories made a new cry against the spread of revolutionary principles, and the dangerous designs of seditious men; and they said that it was the opposition shewn to ministers in parliament that encouraged the mob out of doors. Gillray gave to the public a caricature on the 1st of November, in which the attack upon the King was travestied, and each of the opposition leaders had his place in the scuffle. Pitt is seated on the box, as royal coachman; and Lords Loughborough and Grenville, Dundas, and Sir

Pepper Arden hold on behind as footmen. The Duke of Norfolk presents the blunderbuss at royalty; Fox and Sheridan are bludgeon-men; and Lords Stanhope and Lauderdale and another old patriot are holding the wheels of the carriage to stop its progress.

The ministers took advantage of this riot to bring forward new bills for the defence of his Majesty's person, and to prevent assemblies of an inflammatory character, where papers were circulated and speeches made calculated to irritate the minds of his Majesty's subjects against his person and government. This measure met with the most violent opposition, and it was extremely unpopular throughout the country. People said that there were already laws enough for the protection of the crown, without any further infringement of the liberty of the subject; they beheld the government forming itself into a sort of inquisition, from the eyes of which no one would be safe; and they augured that King George and William Pitt were goading and irritating the people, until they would produce that very revolution of which they professed to entertain such profound fears. The political clubs throughout the kingdom began immediately to agitate against Pitt's new bill; and the London Corresponding Society called another public meeting. Pitt is said to have shewn the greatest symptoms of alarm on this occasion. His temerity in provoking John Bull by so many coercive measures was satirised on the 21st of November, in a caricature entitled, "The Royal Bull-fight," in which Pitt, on the white horse, (the emblem of the house of Hanover,) is encountering the British Bull; the inscription is a parody on the account of a Spanish bull-fight—"Then entered

a bull of the true British breed, who appeared to be extremely peaceable till opposed by a desperado mounted upon a white horse, who, by numberless wounds, provoked the animal to the utmost pitch of fury, when, collecting all its strength into one dreadful effort, and darting upon its opponent, it destroyed both horse and rider in a moment." Such, it was foretold, would be the fate of King George (the white horse of Hanover), and his rider Pitt, if they urged John Bull too far. Another caricature, which appeared on the 26th of November, represents Fox and Sheridan, whose opposition to the bill against popular meetings had been very galling to the minister, tarring and feathering Pitt, their tar being "the rights of the people," made to boil over by a fire the fuel of which was "the sedition bill," "ministerial influence," and "informations." The system of spies and informers was now being organised on a very extensive plan. A caricature, published on the 1st of December,—one of the earlier works of this class by Isaac Cruikshanks,—represents Pitt as "the royal extinguisher," putting out the flame of sedition. Amid the scarcity of provisions under which people were suffering, a caricature, published on the 24th of December, took revenge upon the minister for the former joke of making meat a substitute for bread, and represents him and his party feeding voraciously on English gold as a still better substitute.

Caricatures, and other satirical productions, attacked Pitt severely for his apparent neglect, or want of foresight, in not making some better provision against the visitation of famine. The premier was addicted somewhat immoderately to the bottle, and he, as well as his great opponent, Fox, is said to have taken his

place in the House of Commons more than once in a state of absolute intoxication. We are frequently reminded of this failing in the caricatures of the period of which we are now speaking. When the scarcity of 1795 was just beginning, a print, published by Gillray on the 27th of May, represents one of the jovial scenes at Pitt's country house, at Wimbleton, between the minister and his friend Dundas, who was as great a drinker as himself. It is entitled, "God save the King! in a bumper; or, An Evening Scene three times a-week, at Wimbleton." Pitt is attempting to fill his glass from the wrong end of the bottle, while his companion, grasping pipe and bumper, ejaculates the words, "Billy, my boy — all my joy!"

A MINISTER IN HIGH GLEE.

Another caricature by Gillray, published on the 9th of November, represents the supposed "fatal effects of French defeat," upon the intelligence of an unexpected success gained by the allies; these effects are "hanging" and "drowning:"—the former is supposed to be literal in the case of Fox, who was always represented by the Tories as the friend of republican France; but Pitt and Dundas are drowning in wine, the effects of which are only fatal so far as to lay them helpless on the floor. Among the new taxes brought forward in the spring of 1796, was an additional duty of twenty pounds per butt on wine, which provoked no little discontent; and the minis-

ter's wine-bibbing propensity furnished the subject of abundance of satire. Gillray represented him under the character of Bacchus, and his friend Dundas under that of Silenus, in a caricature published on the 20th of April, 1796, with the title of "The Wine Duty; or, the Triumph of Bacchus and Silenus." John Bull, with empty bottle and empty purse, and a very long face, addresses his remonstrance: — "Pray, Mr. Bacchus, have a bit of consideration for old John; — you know as how I 've emptied my purse already for you; and it 's waundedly hard to raise the price of a drop of comfort, now that one 's got no money left for to pay for it!" The ministerial Bacchus, from his pipe of wine (which is supported on the "treasury bench,") hiccups forth his reply:—"Twenty pounds a t-tun additional duty, i-i-if you d-d-dont like it at that, why, t-t-t-then dad and I will keep it all for o-o-our own drinking, so here g-g-goes, old Bu-bu-bull and mouth!"

BACCHUS AND SILENUS.

The bibacious qualifications of the patriots were, however, no less celebrated than those of the ministers, and were in their turn brought forward as subjects of satire or of joke. Fox and Sheridan were notorious drinkers; and the former is said to have been sometimes brought from the tavern late at night to the House, on an extraordinary emergency, in such a condition that he required a long application of wet towels to his head before he was able to go to his

place and speak. In a caricature by Gillray, published on the 4th of February, 1797, representing one of the private parties of the Whig leaders, here described ironically as "the feast of reason and the flow of soul," Sheridan, not satisfied with drinking wine, like his companions, is filling his bumper with brandy.

A BRANDY-DRINKER.

The additional wine-tax furnished subjects for other caricatures besides that by Gillray. In one, published on the 25th of April, and entitled "The Triumph of Bacchus; or, a Consultation on the additional wine-duty," Pitt is represented as Justice Midas, sitting on the wine-barrel, drinking and smoking. Dundas sits on one side, on a tub, occupied in the same manner, and exclaims, "Who dare oppose wise Justice Midas?" On the other side stands the Duchess of Gordon, Pitt's great political supporter among the ladies. She is dressed in a remarkably transparent vest, leans against a barrel, and she also drinks, while she exclaims, "Oh, what a God is Justice Midas! oh, the tremendous Justice Midas!"

Another tax, now laid for the first time, which excited both discontent and ridicule, was that upon dogs. The debates on this tax in the House of Commons appear to have been extremely amusing. In opposing the motion to go into committee, Sheridan objected that the bill was most curiously worded, as it was in the first instance entitled "A bill for the protection of his Majesty's subjects against dogs:" "from

these words," he said, "one would imagine that dogs had been guilty of burglary, though he believed they were a better protection to their master's property than watchmen." After having entertained the house with some stories about mad dogs, and giving a discourse upon dogs in general, he asked, "since there was an exception in favour of puppies, at what age they were to be taxed, and how the exact age was to be ascertained." The secretary at war, who spoke against the bill, said, "it would be wrong to destroy in the poor that *virtuous feeling* which they had for their dog." In committee, Mr. Lechmere called the attention of the house to ladies' lap-dogs: "he knew a lady who had *sixteen lap-dogs*, and who allowed them a roast shoulder of veal every day for dinner, while many poor persons were starving—was it not therefore right to tax lap-dogs very high? He knew another lady who kept one favourite dog, when well, on Savoy biscuits soaked in Burgundy, and, when ailing, (by the advice of a doctor,) on minced chicken and sweetbread!" Among the caricatures on this subject, one by Gillray (of which there were imitations) represented Fox and his friends, hanged upon a gallows, as "dogs not worth a tax," while the supporters of government, among whom is Burke with "G. R." on his collar, are ranged as well-fed dogs, "paid for."

The ministers carried their bill to prevent seditious meetings through every stage by large majorities; but in the course of the debates, the most unconstitutional publication that turned up, was a pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the English Government," by a Mr. Reeves, an active member of one of the anti-revolutionary societies, in which it was stated that "The monarchy of England was like a goodly tree, of which

the Lords and Commons were merely branches; that they might be lopped off, and that the constitution of England might still go on without their aid." The whole pamphlet was read before the House of Commons, and excited considerable warmth; but, after several debates, the author was sent from the tribunal of the House to a court of justice, in which he was prosecuted for a libel on the constitution; but he was acquitted by the jury on the ground that his motives were not such as were laid in the information, though the jury condemned the pamphlet as "a very improper publication." The ministers were, at the same time, mortified at having their prosecutions for sedition or treason defeated by the juries, who, in almost every instance, gave a verdict of "not guilty." The societies were not destroyed, as was expected, by the government bill; on the contrary, they were encouraged by the support of some of the richer and more powerful members of the parliamentary opposition, especially of the Duke of Bedford, who now stood foremost in its ranks, and was liberally expending his money in the cause of freedom, which was certainly threatened by the ministerial measures. Gillray, on the 3rd of February, made the manner in which the patriotic duke expended his money a subject of satire in a caricature, entitled "The Generæ of Patriotism, or the Bloomsbury Farmer planting Bedfordshire Wheat." The duke is represented sowing his gold on land ploughed by Sheridan. Fox, as the sun, smiling roguishly from his orb, warms the seeds into productiveness, and they spring up behind the sower in a numerous crop of French *bonnets-rouges* and Jacobin daggers.

In the middle of February Mr. Grey again intro-

duced a motion for peace, which was supported by the opposition, and replied to with much less warmth than formerly, and the minister acknowledged that the government was not averse to seize an opportunity of negotiating. The face of Europe had indeed changed considerably within a few months. On one side, our allies, in spite of the extraordinary sums expended in subsidies, were becoming faint and falling off before the immense armies of the republic; and, on the other, the republic itself, since the overthrow of the Jacobin party, seemed to be changing its character from a democracy to a despotic oligarchy. The fear of propagandism appeared, therefore, to have vanished, while it left us to the prospect of contending single-handed against so powerful an adversary. In this position of affairs, the English parliament was dissolved in the latter part of May, and another was elected equally subservient to the will of the minister. On the 21st of May, the day after the Parliament was prorogued, Gillray produced a caricature, entitled "The Dissolution, or the Alchymist producing an æthereal Representation," in which Pitt is represented with an immense retort, distilling the old House of Commons into a new one, the members of which fall down worshipping at his feet. He heats the fire of his furnace, by which this transmutation is produced, with bright gold coin, which is described as "treasury coals."

When the new Parliament met on the 6th of October, the speech from the throne announced that steps had been taken which had opened the way for a direct negotiation for a European peace, and that an ambassador would be immediately sent to Paris with full powers to treat. It was intimated, moreover, that

the wish for negotiation was hastened by the declared intention of France to attempt an invasion of this island. Lord Malmesbury was accordingly sent to Paris to open the negotiations, and arrived there on the 22nd of October. The lower orders in France seem to have rejoiced at the prospect of peace, and they exhibited their feelings somewhat tumultuously in the welcome they gave to the ambassador as he passed through the provincial towns; but the Directory, after amusing him with pretended negotiations, and then treating him in a haughty and insulting manner, gave him a peremptory order to leave Paris on the 19th of December, and thus destroyed all hope of obtaining peace, under any circumstances, from the government which now ruled France, and which had imbibed too deeply the thirst for conquest and plunder, and possessed an immense army which it would have been dangerous to recall. England was thus plunged deeper than ever into the war, and, feeling that its only safely lay in conquering, entered upon it with more resolution and unanimity than ever.

The negotiation, perhaps, arose from a sudden misgiving on the part of the minister, for it seems never to have been fully approved of by his own party, and its expediency appears to have been very generally doubted. Burke had been the first to protest against it, in his two eloquent "Letters on a Regicide Peace," published in the course of the summer.* Earl Fitzwilliam entered a protest against it in the journals of the House of Lords, on occasion of the debate on the address. Burke's letters had produced a great sensa-

* This publication was one of the last of Edmund Burke's political acts. He died on the 9th of July, 1797.

tion, and they were backed by some bold and spirited caricatures as the period for negotiating approached. A large print by Sayer, dated the 14th of October, but said to have been never finished for publication, is entitled "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace," and represents Burke dreaming of the dangers with which his country was threatened. In the frightful vision, republican France is dictating its own terms, while Britannia is practising a French tune, which her lion accompanies with a dismal howl. Gillray's caricature, dated the 20th of October, (two days before our ambassador's arrival in Paris,) and entitled, "Promised horrors of the French invasion; or, forcible reasons for negotiating a Regicide Peace," was published, and exhibits a terrific picture of what was to be expected if the French revolutionized England (for the French government still patronized democracy in the countries they wished to conquer) and made the Foxite reformers masters of the crown and constitution. In the foreground, Pitt is bound to a post, and is scourged by Fox, between whose legs M. A. Taylor struts in the form of a crowing bantam-cock perched on the handle of the bloody axe. The Duke of Bedford, as a bull, urged on by the mob orator Thelwall, is tossing Burke into the air. Lord Stanhope is weighing the head of Lord Grenville against the ministerial weight of the broad bottom. Erskine, to whom Lord Lansdowne is offering the Lord Chancellor's wig, is employed in burning Magna Charta. Jenkinson and Canning are hanged on the lamps. The princes are assassinated, and their bodies thrown from the window of Brooks's. A complicated scene of murder and plunder fills the whole picture, in the back-ground of which we perceived the Palace of St. James's enveloped in flames.

The failure of our negotiations had this advantage, that it kindled throughout the island a flame of patriotic enthusiasm, and a determination to resent to the utmost the threat of invasion. In the midst of such feelings, it is not surprising if the alarming budget which the minister was obliged to announce in the beginning of the session was allowed to pass with less absolute discontent than usual; and that even a voluntary loan, which the government was obliged to open, was filled up with extraordinary rapidity. On the 17th of November, Gillray published a caricature entitled the "Opening of the Budget; or, John Bull giving his breeches to save his bacon." Pitt, with a large bag inscribed as the "requisition budget" open before him, is obliged to excite John Bull's apprehensions in order to extract his money from his pocket; he exclaims, "More money, John!—more money! to defend you from the bloody, the cannibal French—they're a coming!—why, they'll strip you to the very skin! — more money, John!—they're a coming—they're a coming!" The money was not all expended against French invaders, for Burke, Portland, and Dundas, as representatives of the host of pensioners, are seen behind the bag scrambling for the gold, and seconding Pitt's exhortations with their several assertions—"Ay, they're a coming!"—"Yes, yes, they're a coming!"—"Ay, ay, they're a coming—they're a coming!" John Bull, in his alarm at the report of invasion and his distrust of the professed patriots, throws money and breeches and all into the bag, with the sullen declaration, "A coming! are they? — Nay, then, take all I've got at once, Measter Billy! vor it's much better for I to ge ye all I have in the world to save my bacon, than to stay and be strip'd stark

naked by Charley and the plundering French invasioners, as you say!" Charley (Fox) is seen behind declaiming across the Channel (with the fortifications of Brest in the distance) — "What! more money? — Oh! the aristocratic plunderer! — *vîte! citoyens, vîte! — dépêchez-vous!* — or we shall be too late to come in for any smacks of the *argent!* — *vîte! citoyens, vîte! vîte!*" Gillray also published, at the beginning of December, a caricature on the voluntary loan, in which Pitt is represented in the character of a highwayman, presenting his blunderbuss at John Bull as he is passing by, and asking him for a voluntary contribution. It is scarcely necessary to say that this is a parody on a scene in Gil Blas.

England was now fairly entered upon that desperate struggle which eventually, after great sacrifices, raised our national glory to a far higher pitch than it had attained at any former period. The dangers to which this country was then exposed were of no trifling character —with a great burthen of taxation already weighing upon it, it was threatened with the whole resentment of a powerful enemy, who expected to find disaffection at our very heart, and who had Ireland ready to rise in rebellion at the first signal that France was advancing to its assistance. Although there must have been more of faction than of real patriotism in those who could embarrass the government at such a moment, we yet, perhaps, owe to the obstinate resistance of Fox and his party to the ministerial measures that English liberty was not, in the enthusiasm of the moment, sacrificed to court supremacy to a degree almost as disastrous even as the effects of foreign invasion.

We may trace the parliamentary battle of this session in the caricatures of the day, especially in the works of Gillray. The failure of the French expedition which was to have landed in Bantry Bay, produced from this artist, on the 20th of January, a caricature entitled the "End of the Irish Invasion; or, the destruction of the French Armada." The faces which here man the sinking fleet, are those of Fox, Erskine, Thelwall, and others, whom the Tory satirists placed in the same rank; the foul winds that have raised the storm in which they are perishing, are produced by Pitt, Dundas, Wyndham, and the Marquis of Buckingham, who occupy their mythological station in the clouds. The next day Gillray gave to the public another caricature, in which the minister was represented as "the giant factotum amusing himself." Pitt, seated on the canopy over the speaker's chair, in gigantic majesty, is playing at cup and ball with the world; one foot nearly crushes Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and other leaders of the opposition; the other is supported on the shoulder of Dundas, and the head of Wilberforce, while Canning is devoutly kissing the toe, and the members from the Treasury benches are bowing in worship before it. This print was very popular and gave rise to at least one imitation. It is said that the facetious Caleb Whiteford, when he first saw it, made an extempore parody on the words of a well-known song;—

"Jove in his chair,
Of the skies lord-mayor,
When he nods, men, yea gods, stand in awe;
O'er St. Stephen's school
He holds despotic rule,
And his word, though absurd, must be law."

The ministers, indeed, now confident in their power, began to treat the opposition with scornful superiority. When Fox continued to declaim against the dangers to which they were exposing the country by their ill-conduct and improvidence, Dundas is said to have spoken of the Whig alarmist in his reply in the following terms:—"For a dozen years past he has followed the business of a Daily Advertiser, in daily stunning our ears with a noise about plots and ruin and treasons and impeachments;—while the contents of his bloody news turn out to be only a Daily Advertisement for a place and a pension." The allusion to the Whig paper told with great effect; and shortly after, on the 23rd of January, the idea was embodied in a caricature by Gillray, representing Fox, in the character of a ragged newsman, with his horn, shouting the news of the "Daily Advertiser," and knocking, but in vain, at the Treasury gate. In their mortification at the increasing power of their ministerial opponents, the political societies gave utterance frequently to imprudent sentiments and expressions, which were turned to the disadvantage of the liberal party as a body. Thus, the following sentiment is said to have been expressed in the Whig club, on the 14th of February. "The tree of liberty must be planted immediately! this is the something which must be done, and that quickly, too, to save the country from destruction." Gillray's pencil immediately pictured the tree of liberty, the planting of which, in the opinion of the Tories, would be the salvation of England—its foundation, a pile of ghastly heads, at once recognised as those of Sheridan, Stanhope, Thelwall, Horne Tooke, and other active agitators in opposition to government; its stalk, a bloody spear, sustaining, as

its fruit, the bleeding head of the arch-agitator, Fox.

FRUIT OF LIBERTY.

At the latter end of February, the French made a descent on the coast of Wales, without any apparent object or utility, which ended in the immediate capture of the invaders. The opposition quickly raised a cry against the government. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 4th of March, represents the hold which the Whigs thought they had thus gained on the minister, as "Billy in the Devil's claws," the unfortunate premier held in the brawny grasp of Fox; but the intelligence of Jervis's brilliant victory over the Spaniards, came to set the captive loose, and obliged the evil visitor to let go his hold in chagrin, which is represented in an accompanying picture of "Billy sending the Devil packing." The whole is entitled "The Tables turned."

A new cause of alarm was now furnished by the embarrassments of the Bank of England, arising from the immense sums which had been advanced to government, and the anxiety of people in general to withdraw their money, under the apprehension of an invasion; and, in the month of February, the bank announced its inability to continue cash payments. Pitt came forward to its assistance with an act of parliament making bank notes a legal tender, and from this time the circulation of gold coin became almost obsolete. Several caricatures appeared on this occasion. In one, the minister was represented attempting a rape on the old lady of Leaden-

hall-street. Another was a parody on the well-known story of Midas—the political Midas (Pitt) instead of turning everything into gold, turned it into paper; in the distance, across the water, a great explosion at Brest blows into the air a cloud of Jacobin sans-culottes armed with daggers, and the wind from it moves the reeds (the English opposition), which sigh forth, "Midas has ears!" The opposition are constantly thus depicted as causing embarrassment to the government at home for the advantage of our enemies abroad. In another caricature on the paper-currency question, Pitt is represented offering bank-notes to John Bull, while Fox and Sheridan are persuading him not to take them. John, however, remains deaf to their arguments.

John Bull's courage and patriotism, indeed, increased in intensity, and his dislike of war diminished, as the danger approached nearer and became more imminent. The insolence of the French Directory and of their agents, and the atrocious threats which they held out against England, only tended to unite all classes in the defence of their native land. The commander of the army of invasion, General Hoche, had already, in imagination, plundered our capital. "Courageous citizens," he said to his followers, in an address which was circulated through France, "England is the richest country in the world—and we give it up to you to be plundered. You shall march to the capital of that haughty nation. You shall plunder their national bank of its immense heaps of gold. You shall seize upon all public and private property —upon their warehouses—their magazines—their stately mansions—their gilded palaces; and you shall return to your own country loaded with the spoils of

the enemy. This is the only method left to bring them to our terms. When they are humbled, then we shall dictate what terms we think proper, and they must accept them. Behold what our brave army in Italy are doing—they are enriched with the plunder of that fine country; and they will be more so, when Rome bestows what, if she does not, will be taken by force. Your country, brave citizens, will not demand a particle of the riches you shall bring from Great Britain. Take what you please, it shall be all your own. Arms and ammunition you shall have, and vessels to carry you over. Once landed, you will soon find your way to London." These lines, which were published in most of the English newspapers and magazines in the month of March, added to the martial spirit of the people, whose property was thus threatened, and volunteer troops began to be formed in all parts of the country. The metropolis and its volunteers began again to look like Old London and its trained bands, and caricatures on these soldier-citizens soon became numerous. One by Gillray, published on the 1st of March, may be compared with the satires against the city soldiery in the days of George I.—it represents, "St. George's volunteers charging down Bond-street, after clearing the ring in Hyde Park, and storming the dunghill at Marybone;" and the assailants are evidently gaining an easy victory over the fashionable loungers of the former locality. A number of pictures representing the horrible consequences of French success, published during March and April, tended to keep the national spirit in a blaze.

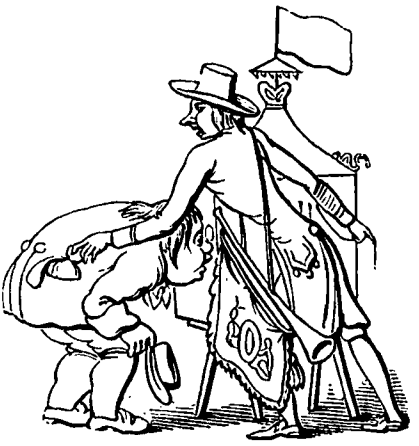
Still John Bull grumbled at being taxed, although he was so earnestly assured that it was for his own ad-

vantage. One of the taxes proposed during the spring of 1797, which gave most room for satire and ridicule, was a duty on hats, which people evaded by wearing caps. Gillray, in a caricature published on the 5th of April, entitled "*Le bonnet rouge:* or, John Bull

JOHN BULL IN BONNET ROUGE.

evading the hat-tax," intimates the danger that such taxes might drive John Bull to adopt the republican costume of his neighbours, and he certainly does look "transformed." John chuckles in contemplation of the astonishment that his ruler must feel when he beholds the strange effect of his taxes—"Waunds! when Measter Billy sees I in a red cap how he will stare!—egad, I thinks I shall cook 'en at last!—well, if I could but once get a cockade to my red cap, and a bit of a gun—why, I thinks I should make a good stockey soldier." Other caricatures attacked the increasing system of taxation, and the minister with whom it originated, with much greater severity; they represented him as practising a continued deception—of making professions which he never intended to fulfil, and talking of objects which he took no steps to gain—in order to extract the money from John Bull's pocket. A caricature, published on the 15th of

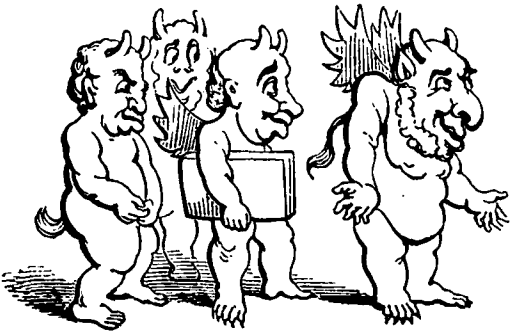
August, under the title of "Billy's Raree-Show; or, John Bull *en*-lighten'd," represents Pitt as the royal showman, picking John's pocket of his "savings," while the latter is looking at his exhibition. The



THE DISHONEST SHOWMAN.

showman, with all due gravity, is directing John's attention—"Now, pray, lend your attention to the enchanting prospect before you—this is the prospect of peace—only observe what a busy scene presents itself—the ports are filled with shipping, the quays loaded with merchandize—riches are flowing in from every quarter—this prospect alone is worth all the money you have got about you." The simple auditor of this fine speech, totally unconscious of the process to which his pocket is being subjected, observes, "Mayhap it may, Master Showman, but I canna zee ony thing loike what you mentions—I zees nothing but a woide plain, with some mountains and molehills upon 't—as sure as a gun, it must be all behoind one of those!" The flag of the raree-show bears the inscription, "Licensed by Authority, Billy Hum's grand exhibition of moving mechanism; or, deception of the

senses." Great as might be the increase of taxes in one session, the next was sure to bring with it the addition of new ones. Scarcely had the parliament begun business at the end of the year 1797, when it was announced that a heavy addition would be made to the assessed taxes. A caricaturist, in the month of December, in a print entitled, "More visitors to John Bull; or, the Assessed Taxes," represents these unwelcome guests introducing themselves to John Bull in a bodily form. The latter asks in surprise, as well as alarm, "What do you want, you little devils?—ain't I plagued with enough of you already? more pick-pockets' work, I suppose?" The imps reply, in the most courteous manner, "Please your honour, we are the assessed Taxes."*



WE ARE THE ASSESSED TAXES.

Amid so many subjects of uneasiness, with preparations for invasion without, and when our fleets were in open mutiny at Spithead and the Nore, the question of parliamentary reform was again agitated from one end of the country to the other. In the month of May, Fox and his party made two important efforts in the House of Commons to force the ministry to

* The only copy of this caricature that I have seen is in the possession of Mr. Burke.

more liberal measures. On the 23rd, Fox himself moved for the repeal of the acts passed in the preceding session against sedition and treason. The ministers defended warmly their coercive measures, and one of their party declared "that he considered this motion as a tissue of the web that Mr. Fox had been weaving for the last four years, which had tended to degrade this country in the eyes of foreign powers; had it not been for these acts, he believed that the French national flag would have been hoisted on the Tower of London." After a long debate, Fox's motion was rejected by two hundred and sixty votes against fifty-two. On the 26th, Mr. Grey moved for leave to bring in a bill to reform the representation in the country, and explained at considerable length the principal details of his plan. The motion was seconded by Erskine, and the debate lasted till three o'clock in the morning, when it was rejected by a majority of a hundred and forty-nine against ninety-one. The leaders of the opposition now declared their despair of making any impression on the House of Commons, and announced their intention for the present of taking no further part in its proceedings. The voice of Fox was scarcely heard again within the walls of St. Stephen's till after the close of the century. Sheridan alone remained at his post, and it was commonly believed that he had disagreed with his party, and that he was looking out for encouragement to desert to the ministerial side of the House. Upon this occasion the Tories complained louder than ever of the factious behaviour of the opposition; they said that the opposition had remained in the House as long as there remained any prospect of doing mischief, and then they shewed their patriotism by leav-

ing their country to its fate. Gillray published a caricature on the 28th of May, the spirit of which is sufficiently explained by its title of "Parliamentary Reform; or, Opposition rats leaving the House they had undermined." A caricature, published some days later, represents Fox slinking away from the neighbourhood of the House, after his partizans have laid the trains that were to blow up the constitution. Other caricatures traced the opposition leaders into their retreats, and shewed them encouraging and aiding sedition without the House, now that their efforts had proved useless within. On the 5th of June appeared a caricature, entitled "Diversions of Purley; or, Opposition attending their private affairs," represents Fox and his political friends in affectionate homeliness nursing two ill-favoured babes, "Sedition and Revolution." Another caricature, published by Gillray on the 16th of June, is entitled "Homer singing his verses to the Greeks;" it represents Fox and his party round the jovial table, listening to their old minstrel Captain Morris, who, all ragged and wretched, is singing them a new song. Still later on in the year, on the 24th of November, in a caricature entitled "Le coup de maître," Gillray represented Fox in the character of a political brigand, practising with his gun at the crown, lords, and commons.

It is certain that, after the secession of the opposition in the House of Commons, the agitation throughout the country became greater, and the activity of the political societies increased. Political meetings to discuss the necessity of parliamentary reform became more frequent. One of the most remarkable of these meetings was held on the grounds at Guy's Cliff, near Warwick, under the favour of Bertie Greathead,

Esq., the proprietor of that picturesque locality, and was commemorated by a medal, an article at this time very popular as a means of spreading political opinions. Numerous medals had been struck for and against Paine. The reform medal commemorating the meeting at Guy's Cliff, was parodied by a loyal medal, which represented on the obverse the devil holding three halters over the heads of the demagogues, while on one side the "wrong heads" are applauding them, and on the other the "right heads" are shewing disgust at their proceedings. The newspapers now became more violent and abusive, and less scrupulous in their statements, when they could serve their party by falsehood or misrepresentation.

It was to combat the seditious tendency of the opposition press, the attacks of which assailed the ministers with incessant gall, that the celebrated *Anti-Jacobin* was established in the latter part of November, 1797. It was conducted by some of the most talented men connected with the administration, and is remarkable for the bitterness of its satire, and the boldness of its personalities. In this respect one party was quite as little scrupulous as the other. The second number of this paper, published on the 27th of November, contained that admirable burlesque by Canning (one of the principal contributors) on the pains taken by the political agitators and so-called philanthropists to instill discontent into the lower orders of society, even when of themselves they were not at all inclined to be discontented:—

THE FRIEND OF HUMANITY AND THE KNIFE-GRINDER.

" Friend of Humanity.

" ' Needy knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast—your hat has got a hole in 't,
So have your breeches!

" ' Weary knife-grinder! little think the proud ones,
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
road, what hard work 'tis crying all day, ' Knives and
Scissors to grind, O!'

" ' Tell me, knife-grinder, how you came to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the 'squire? or parson of the parish?
Or the attorney?

" ' Was it the 'squire for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson for his tythes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer made you lose your little
All in a lawsuit?

" ' (Have you not read the ' Rights of Man' by Tom Paine?)
Drops of compassion tremble on my eye-lids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.'

" Knife-grinder.

" ' Story! God bless you! I have none to tell, sir,
Only last night, a-drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

" ' Constables came up for to take me into
Custody; they took me before the justice;
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish-
stocks for a vagrant.

" ' I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But, for my part, I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.'

"*Friend of Humanity.*

"'*I* give thee sixpence! I will see thee damn'd first!—
Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance!—
Sordid, unfeeling, reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast!'.

(Kicks the Knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.)

This burlesque was reprinted in a broadside, on the 4th of December, with a large engraving by Gillray, in which the "friend of humanity" carries the features of Tierney, and it is dedicated "to the independent electors of the borough of Southwark," of which constituency Tierney was the representative.

In their mortification at the steady and overwhelming ministerial majorities in parliament, the opposition seceders seem to have vented their ill-humour in ultra-liberal toasts and speeches at public dinners and entertainments, and under the genial influence of the god to whom their devotions were always fervent, they sometimes uttered sentiments that were not of the most prudent description, and which were eagerly seized upon by their opponents. On the 24th of January, 1798, a grand dinner was held in the rooms of the Crown and Anchor to celebrate the birthday of Charles James Fox. Not less than two thousand persons are said to have been present. The Duke of Norfolk presided, and was supported by the Duke of Bedford, Earls Lauderdale and Oxford, Sheridan, Tierney, Erskine, Horne Tooke, and others. Captain Morris produced three new songs for the occasion. After dinner had been withdrawn in the great room, the Duke of Norfolk, as reported in the newspapers, addressed the company nearly as follows: "We are met, in a moment of most serious difficulty, to celebrate

the birth of a man dear to the friends of freedom. I shall only recall to your memory, that not twenty years ago, the illustrious George Washington had not more than two thousand men to rally round him when his country was attacked. America is now free. This day full two thousand men are assembled in this place. I leave you to make the application. I propose to you the health of Charles Fox." After this toast had been drunk, and warmly applauded, the duke gave successively, "The rights of the people;" "Constitutional redress of the wrongs of the people;" "A speedy and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament;" "The genuine principles of the British constitution;" "The people of Ireland, and may they be speedily restored to the blessings of law and liberty." The health of the chairman was then drunk, to which the duke responded by giving "Our sovereign's health — *the majesty of the people!*" The court gave a much less favourable interpretation to these proceedings than it was probable that the actors in them ever contemplated, and the Tory press was loud in its outcries. The result was, that, within a few days after the meeting, the King dismissed the Duke of Norfolk from his offices of Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Colonel in the militia, which caused no less outcry in the newspapers of the opposition. A print by Gillray, published on the 3d of

A NOBLE TOASTMASTER.

February, represents the noble toastmaster, giving "the loyal toast," surrounded by Fox, Bedford, Stanhope, Sheridan, and others. The duke's seat, in place of a coronet, bears the figure of a *bonnet rouge*. Above his head appear two hands, one holding a pair of scales, the other with a pair of scissors cutting off from a long list of the honours bestowed by the crown upon the Norfolk family the two just alluded to. Just three months later, at a meeting of the Whig club, at the Free Masons' Tavern, on Tuesday, the 1st of May, Fox gave as a toast, "The sovereignty of the people of Great Britain," and accompanied it with a speech strongly condemnatory of the conduct of ministers, whom he compared with the French Directory. A similar mark of resentment was shewn towards Fox, as had already been exhibited in the case of the Duke of Norfolk; the King immediately ordered his name to be erased from the list of the privy council. Another caricature by Gillray, published on the 12th of May, represents the dismay of

PATRIOTS IN DISMAY.

the two disgraced patriots, in a "Meeting of the unfortunate *citoyens*." Pitt and Dundas stand as senti-

nels at the entrance to St. James's. Fox, who appears to have just been refused admittance, exhibits a truly rueful countenance, and meeting the duke, exclaims, "Scratch'd off!—dish'd!—kick'd out, damme!" His companion in misfortune, from whose pocket hangs a paper containing the announcement of his dismissal from the lieutenancy, replies, "How? what! kick'd out!—ah! morbleu!—chacun à son tour! morbleu! morbleu!"

During these transactions, the French were constantly boasting of their preparations for the invasion of this country, and it was openly declared that they were to be assisted with a rebellion in Ireland, some discontented and ambitious democrats of that country having been in active communication with the governing powers in Paris. Threatening paragraphs from the French papers found their way continually into the English journals, and helped to keep up the alarm. It was announced that Buonaparte, now one of the most distinguished of the generals of the republic, elated with the victories of his Italian campaign, was to lead his veteran armies against England. A paragraph from a Parisian paper of the 26th of November, 1797, proclaimed that "The army of England is created; it is commanded by the conqueror of Italy. After having restored peace to the continent, France is at length about to employ all her activity against the tyrants of the seas." The London newspapers, at the end of December, published the address of the president of the Directory to Buonaparte on his arrival from the south:—"Citizen-general! crown so glorious a career by a conquest which the great nation owes to its outraged dignity. Go, and by the punishment you inflict on the cabinet of London strike terror into all the

governments which shall dare to doubt the power of a nation of freemen. Pompey did not disdain to crush a nest of pirates. Greater than the Roman general, go and chain down the gigantic pirate who lords it over the seas: go and punish in London crimes which have remained unpunished but too long. Numerous votaries of liberty wait your arrival; you will find no enemy but vice and wickedness. They alone support that perfidious government; strike it down, and let its downfall inform the world, that if the French people are the benefactors of Europe, they are also the avengers of the rights of nations."

This constant declaration on the part of France that she expected to secure powerful assistance in England, injured the cause of the opposition in this country, and appeared to confirm the charges brought against them by the Tories, whose indignation was raised to the highest pitch, when, in February, the French papers brought over a printed copy of the letter by which the notorious renegade, Paine, conveyed his sentiments on the subject to the council of Five Hundred —"Citizens representatives, though it is not convenient to me, in the present situation of my affairs, to subscribe to the loan towards the descent upon England, my economy permits me to make a small patriotic donation. I send a hundred livres, and with it all the wishes of my heart for the success of the descent, and a voluntary offer of any service I can render to promote it. There will be no lasting peace for France, nor for the world, until the tyranny and corruption of the English government be abolished, and England, like Italy, become a sister republic."

As spring approached, the French papers brought

frequent intelligence of preparations and orders for this threatened descent.

In England the alarm was great, and every measure was again practised that was likely to stir up and sustain a flame of patriotism, as well as to make people suspicious of the motives and designs of those who were in opposition to ministers. Loyal songs became suddenly more popular than all others, and new ones were regularly given to the world in the columns of the *Anti-Jacobin* and other publications. The following excellent parody appeared in this journal early in December:—

"LA SAINTE GUILLOTINE.

"From the blood-bedew'd valleys and mountains of France
See the genius of Gallic *invasion* advance!
Old Ocean shall waft her, unruffled by storm,
While our shores are all lin'd with the *friends of Reform.*
Confiscation and Murder attend in her train,
With meek-eyed Sedition, the daughter of Paine;
While her sportive *Poissardes* with light footsteps are seen
To dance in a ring round the gay *guillotine.*

"To London, 'the rich, the defenceless,' she comes—
Hark! my boys, to the sound of the Jacobin drums!
See Corruption, Prescription, and Privilege fly,
Pierced through by the glance of her blood-darting eye.
While Patriots, from prison and prejudice freed,
In soft accents shall lisp the Republican creed,
And with tri-colored fillets, and cravats of green,
Shall crowd round the altar of *Saint Guillotine.*

"See the level of Freedom sweeps over the land—
The vile aristocracy's doom is at hand!
Not a seat shall be left in the house *that we know,*
But for *Earl* Buonaparte and *Baron* Moreau.
But the rights of the Commons shall still be respected—
Buonaparte himself shall approve the elected;
And the Speaker shall march with majestical mien,
And make his three bows to the grave *guillotine.*

"Two heads, says our proverb, are better than one;
But the Jacobin choice is for Five Heads or none.
By Directories only can liberty thrive,
Then down with the *one*, boys! and up with the *five!*
How our bishops and judges will stare with amazement,
When their heads are thrust out at the *national casement!*
When the *national razor** has shaved them quite clean,
What a handsome oblation to *Saint Guillotine!*"

A caricature by Gillray, published on the 1st of February, 1798, under the title of "The storm rising; or, The Republican Flotilla in danger," represents Fox, Sheridan, and their allies, drawing the enemy's flotilla to our coast by means of a capstan and cable, while Pitt, from above, is blowing up the storm that is to drive it away—in the winds we discern the names of Duncan, Howe, Gardiner, &c., the admirals who were now making the name of England respected on the seas. The flotilla has in front the flag of "liberty," but the flag behind is inscribed as that of "slavery." The turrets and bulwarks represent "murder," "plunder," "beggary," and a number of other similar prospects. On the other side of the water are seen the fortifications of Brest, with the guillotine raised on its principal tower, and the devil dancing over it and playing the tune of "Over de vater to Charley!" Plenty of pictures were now published, to shew the disastrous state of things to be expected in this country, when the Whigs should have helped the French to the mastery. Of these the most remarkable was a series of four plates, engraved by Gillray, and published on the 1st of March, and said, in the corner of each plate, to be "invented" by Sir John Dalrymple. They are entitled, "The consequences

* *La petite fenêtre* and *le rasoir national* were popular terms applied to the guillotine by the mob in France.

of a successful French invasion." The first represents the House of Commons occupied by the triumphant democrats; the mace, records, and other furniture of the house, are involved in one common destruction, and the members are fettered in pairs, in the garb of convicts, ready for transportation to Botany Bay. In the second, the House of Lords is the scene of similar havoc; a guillotine, supported by two Turkish mutes with their bows, occupies the place of the throne; and the commander-in-chief, in his full republican uniform, pointing to the mace, says to one of his creatures, "Here, take away this bauble! but if there be any gold on it, send it to my lodging." In the third

A FRENCH REFORMER OF PARLIAMENT.

plate, the good people of England, in rags and wooden shoes, are forced to till the ground, while their proud republican task-masters follow them with the whip. The fourth is a lesson for Ireland; having come over with the specious pretext of delivering the Catholic

faith from Protestant supremacy, they abuse the Catholic clergy and plunder and profane their churches.

Ireland was at this time breaking out into open rebellion, and occupied the attention of both political parties in England as seriously as the threatened invasion from France. The Whigs accused the Tories of having provoked the Irish into resistance by their tyrannical measures, and affected sympathy for their sufferings; the Tories accused the Whigs of having encouraged disaffection by their example, and by the propagation of their republican doctrines. Among those who preached most about English injustice in the sister island, was Lord Moira, who has been mentioned before as Lord Rawdon, and who was incessant in his declamations against English misrule. A caricature, published by Gillray on the 12th of March, represents him as "Lord Longbow, the alarmist, discovering the miseries of Ireland," and doing his best to blow the diminutive flame across the channel into a blaze with his small breath. On the 20th of March, Gillray published a caricature, entitled "Search Night; or, State Watchmen mistaking honest men for Conspirators," in which Pitt and Dundas, as watchmen, are breaking through the door of the secret apartment in which the "Corresponding Society" are supposed to be deliberating. They find the room full of daggers, caps of liberty, &c., and a party of conspirators brooding

LORD LONGBOW THE ALARMIST.

over Irish insurrection. The approach of the watchmen has been the signal for a general flight; the Dukes of Bedford and Norfolk make their escape through the chimney; Fox and Sheridan mount through a trap-door; Tierney and two others seek concealment under the table; Moira alone, who boasted that he managed well with both parties, stands his ground: over the mantel-piece are portraits of Robespierre and Buonaparte. In June, people were excited against the Irish by pictures of the atrocities committed by the rebels, which rivalled almost the doings of French republicanism; and, among other caricatures on the same subject, published in October, is a picture of "The allied Republics of France and Ireland," in which the French ally, after enriching himself by plunder, is riding upon poor Ireland transformed into a donkey. This picture is accompanied by a mock song, burlesquing the national burthen of "Erin go bragh:"—

"From Brest in the Bay of Biskey
Me come for de very fine whiskey,
To make de Jacobin friskey,
While Erin may go bray.

"Me have got de mealy pottato
From de Irish democrato,
To make de Jacobin fat, O,
While Erin may go bray.

"I get by de guillotine axes
De wheats, and de oats, and de flaxes,
De rents, and de tydes, and de taxes,
While Erin may go bray.

"I put into requisition
De girl of every condition,
For Jacobin coalition,
And Erin may go bray.

"De linen I get in de scuffle
Will make de fine shirt to my ruffle,
While Pat may go starve in his hovel,
And Erin may go bray.

"De beef is good for my belly,
De calf make very fine jelly,
For me to kiss Nora and Nelly,
And Erin may go bray.

"Fitzgerald and Arter O'Connor
To Erin have doné de great honour,
To put me astride upon her,
For which she now does bray.

"She may fidget and caper and kick, O,
But by de good help of Old Nick, O,
De Jacobin ever will stick, O,
And Erin may go bray."

The Whigs continued to be caricatured as the patrons of French principles, whether in England or in Ireland. Gillray published, on the 18th of April, a series of "French Habits," in which the principal English Whigs were equipped in the gay theatrical costumes of the different officers of the French republican government of that time; Fox led the way as "*le ministre d'état en grand costume.*" On the 23rd of May, a caricature by Gillray parodied Milton in representing "The Tree of Liberty, with the Devil tempting John Bull." Fox, as the serpent, is offering John Bull the apple of "Reform;" but the latter is not to be tempted, for his pockets are filled with better fruit. A caricature by the same artist, published on the 26th of May, represents the "Shrine at St. Anne's Hill;"* Fox worshipping the *bonnet rouge*, which is supported on a republican altar, with the bust of Robespierre on one side, and that of

* Charles James Fox's country house in Surrey, to which he retired after the secession of the opposition in the House of Commons.

Buonaparte on the other; the heads of the other leaders of the opposition, with red caps on their heads, appear as cherubs attendant on his devotions. In another caricature by Gillray, entitled "Nightly Visitors at St. Anne's Hill," published on the 21st of September, the ghosts of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the headless trunks of others who had fallen a sacrifice in their rebellion against the government in Ireland, are made to disturb Fox in his slumber, and accuse him of having been their first seducer.

The threats of France and her ostentatious preparations, had greatly injured the cause of the Whigs in England, where the warlike spirit had been increased by the victories gained by Duncan and other admirals at sea. Our fleet seemed to be rapidly rising in glory since the repression of the memorable mutiny at the Nore. The enthusiasm was kept up by every kind of incentive, even by "loyal" performances at the theatres. On the 9th of February, a tragedy, entitled "England Preserved," an interlude, and the farce of the "Poor Sailor," were acted at Covent Garden Theatre, and the receipt of the house appropriated to the voluntary contribution for the defence of the country. There were present Lord Bridport and Lord Hood, whose healths being drunk in the interlude occasioned such extraordinary bursts of applause, that both those naval heroes were obliged to come forward and shew themselves to the audience. This and other performances were accompanied with appropriate prologues, epilogues, and addresses, all calculated to produce the same effect. Even Captain Morris became loyal, and wrote some truly patriotic songs, of which the following, which was very popular in the month of May, is one of the best:—

A LOYAL SONG.

"Ye brave sons of Britain, whose glory hath long
Supplied to the poet proud themes for his song;
Whose deeds have for ages astonish'd the world,
When your standard you 've hoisted or sails have unfurl'd;
France raging with shame at your conquering fame,
Now threatens your country with slaughter and flame.
But let them come on, boys, on sea or on shore,
We 'll work them again, as we 've worked them before.

"Now flush'd with the blood of the slaves they have slain,
These foes we still beat swear they 'll try us again;
But the more they provoke us, the more they will see,
'Tis in vain to forge chains for a nation that 's free:
All their rafts, and their floats, and their flat-bottom'd boats,
Shall not cram their French poison down Englishmen's throats.
So let them come on, &c.

"They hope by their falsehoods, their tricks, and alarms,
To split us in factions, and weaken our arms;
For they know British hearts, while united and true,
No danger can frighten, no force can subdue;
Let 'em try every tool, every traitor, and fool,
But England, old England no Frenchman shall rule.
So let them come on, &c.

"How these savage invaders to man have behav'd,
We see by the countries they 've robb'd and enslav'd;
Where, masking their curse with blest Liberty's name,
They have starv'd them, and bound them in chains and in shame.
Then their traps they may set, we 're aware of the net,
And in England, my hearties, no gudgeons they 'll get.
So let them come on, &c.

"Ever true to our king, constitution, and laws,
Ever just to ourselves, ever staunch to our cause;
This land of our blessings, long guarded with care,
No force shall invade, boys, no craft shall ensnare,
United we 'll stand, firm in heart, firm in hand,
And those we don't sink, we 'll do over on land.
So let them come on," &c.

As the summer approached, all fears of invasion vanished away, and the departure of Buonaparte for Egypt shewed that the ambition of France was directed for the present to another quarter. At the beginning of October, the news of the great and decisive victory of the Nile came to cheer all hearts, except those of the seditious few who had built their prospects on the assistance of French bayonets. The Tories exulted over the supposed mortification and chagrin of men who certainly did not lament their country's glory, and a print by Gillray, published on the 3rd of October (the day after the announcement of the battle in the gazette) under the title of "Nelson's victory; or, Good news operating upon loyal feelings," represents the different Whig leaders giving unequivocal evidence of their disappointment. A caricature, published on the 6th, represents Nelson with a club, inscribed, "British Oak" clearing the Nile of its monsters—it is entitled, "Extirpation of the Plagues of Egypt; destruction of revolutionary crocodiles; or, The British hero cleansing the mouth of the Nile." Scarcely a day now passed without bringing intelligence of some new success of the British navy at sea, and John Bull seemed in danger of being surfeited with the multitude of his captures. On the 24th of October, Gillray published his caricature of "John Bull taking a luncheon; or, British cooks cramming old Grumble-Gizzard with *bonne chère.*" John sitting at his well furnished table, is almost overwhelmed by the zealous attentions of his (naval) cooks, foremost among whom, the hero of the Nile is offering him a "fricassee à la Nelson,"—a large dish of battered French ships of the line. The other admirals, in their characters of cooks, are crowding round, and

we distinguish among their contributions to John's table, "fricando à la Howe," "Dessert à la Warren,"

A GOOD CATERER.

"Dutch cheese à la Duncan," and a variety of other dishes "à la Vincent," "à la Bridport," "à la Gardiner," &c. John Bull is deliberately snapping up a frigate at a mouthful, and he is evidently fat-

JOHN BULL TAKING A LUNCHEON.

tening fast upon his new diet; he exclaims, as his cooks gather round him, "What! more frigasees!—why, you rogues you, where do you think I shall find room to stow all you bring in?" Beside him stands an immense jug of "true British stout" to wash them

down; and behind him, a picture of "Buonaparte in Egypt," suspended against the wall, is concealed by Nelson's hat, which is hung over it. Through the window we see Fox and Sheridan running away in dismay at John Bull's voracity. It was now pretty generally the hope of some, and the fear of many, in France as well as in England, that Buonaparte would never be able to get back to his own country, and all eyes were fixed with anxiety upon the East. Gillray published a caricature on the 20th of November, entitled "Fighting for the dunghill; or, Jack Tar settling Buonaparte," in which Jack is manfully disputing his

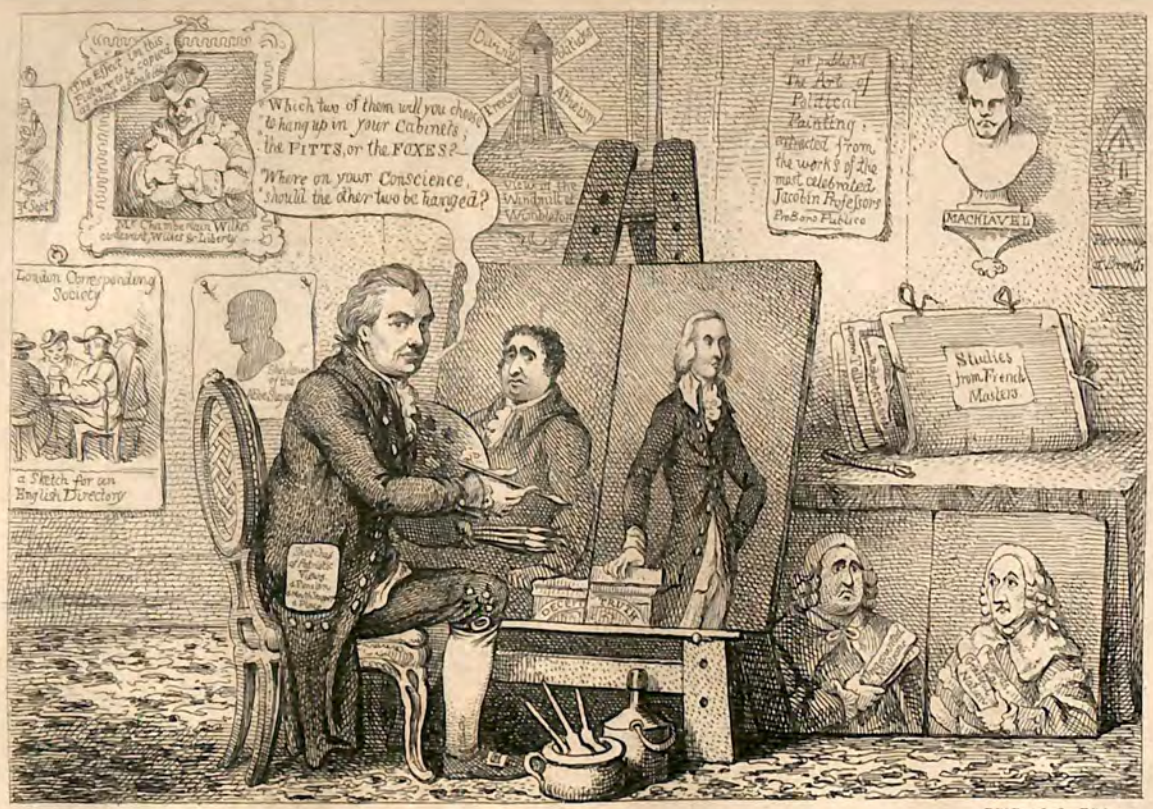
DISPUTED POSSESSION.

enemy's right to supremacy over the world; the nose of the latter gives evident proof of "punishment." Jack Tar has his advanced foot on Malta, while Buonaparte is seated, not very firmly, on Turkey. At home the plan of a descent upon England was so far modified, that the invasion was to be made through Ireland, and the command of the army destined for this purpose was given to the republican General Hoche; but, while Jack Tar was thus settling Buonaparte in the East, General Hoche died unexpectedly

in France, and, so entirely had the success of our fleets restored the feeling of security in England, that his disappearance from the stage would hardly have been perceived, had it not been announced by the grand print of Gillray, entitled "The Apotheosis of Hoche," published on the 11th of December, 1798, and representing in one vast panorama the horrors of the French revolution crowded around its hero. The same year that witnessed the signal defeat of the navy of France, saw also the overthrow of the French prospects in Ireland, by the suppression of the rebellion.

During the spring and summer of 1798, the prosecutions for political offences had increased in number, and the whole country seems to have been invaded with an army of spies and informers. Men were dragged into court on informations of the most trifling and ridiculous kind, and it was long before this country was relieved from the evils of a disgraceful system, which, in the blindness of momentary enthusiasm, the ministry of William Pitt had been allowed to establish. An amusing caricature on this subject, published on the 2nd of April, and alluding apparently to some incident that had occurred at Winchester, is entitled, "The Sedition Hunter disappointed; or, d—g by Winchester Measure." An honest farmer is dragged into court by an informer, who accuses him of having uttered the *treasonable* expression, "D—n Mr. Pitt." The sensation against the informer is unequivocally expressed; and the judge, in this case, comes to the sage opinion in the matter of law, "If a man is disposed to d—n, he may as well d—n Mr. Pitt, as anybody else."

The Tories continued to exult over the defeat of "the party." There had taken place at the beginning



J Gillray. del

P.W.Fairholt. F.S.A. sc.

"TWO PAIR OF PORTRAITS."

PRESENTED TO ALL THE UNBIASSED ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN, BY JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

of the year a sort of coalition between the Foxites and some of the more violent democrats, such as Horne Tooke and Frend, who had formerly repudiated Fox as not sufficiently democratic in his views, but who now expressed themselves satisfied at his declaration in favour of parliamentary reform, and proclaimed the necessity of union. On the 30th of October, after the glorious successes which had added so much to the strength of the ministers in power, Gillray published a caricature entitled, "The Funeral of the Party," in which the bier of party is borne along with a lugubrious procession, Fox, Sheridan, and their friends marching behind it as chief mourners; the Duke of Norfolk leads the procession, bearing the banner inscribed the "Majesty of the People;" and behind him Horne Tooke reads the service from "The Rights of Man." This was followed, on the 6th of November, by "Stealing off; or, Prudent Secession," a caricature alluding to the secession of the Whigs in the previous spring, and representing Fox flying from the House, where the opposition bowed down their heads overwhelmed by the successes of government. On the 17th of November, came "The Fall of Phaeton," Fox struck from his chariot by the lightning of royalty, and the Whig club involved in his destruction. Horne Tooke had now become one of the most prominent members of the reform confederacy; at one period of his career, when acting (as it was said) in the pay of government, he had published a pamphlet under the title of "Two Pair of Portraits," in which he contrasted, much to the advantage of the former, the two Pitts with the two Foxes. A caricature by Gillray on this subject, of which the accompanying plate is an accurate copy, was published on the 1st of December,

with the *Anti-Jacobin Review;* Horne Tooke is re-daubing his portrait of Charles Fox, and is surrounded on every side with pictures allusive to the varying principles of his life.

The parliamentary session of 1799, opened at the end of November, 1798, when Fox kept his word of absenting himself from the debates; yet in the caricatures he was always placed foremost in the opposition. The announcement of a property and income tax at the beginning of December, produced a caricature, published on the 13th, under the ironical title of "Meeting of the Moneyed Interest," in which Fox, with a begging-box by his side, is exciting against the bill a meeting of which the greater part appears to be anything but "moneyed." It was Fox, according to the same caricatures, who, in his love of faction, was now creating every possible obstacle to Pitt's favourite measure of the Irish union. A caricature by Gillray entitled, "Horrors of the Irish Union," published on the 24th of December, represents Britannia on one side of the channel, reposing amid plenty and happiness, offering to Ireland on the other side a "Union of security, trade, and liberty." The face of Fox is just seen from behind a bush, (which conceals him from Britannia, who appears not to be aware of his presence), whispering across the channel, "Hip! my old friend, Pat!—hip!—a word in your ear!—take care of yourself, Pat! or you'll be ruined past redemption. Don't you see that this d—d Union is only meant to make a slave of you? Do but look how that cursed hag is forging fetters to bind you, and preparing her knapsack to carry off your property, and to ravish your whole country, man, woman, and child!—why, you are blind, sure! Rouse yourself, man! raise all the law-

yers and spur up the corporations; fight to the last drop of blood, and part with the last potato to preserve your property and independence!" Pat, who is covered with rags and wretchedness, whose whole property is comprised in a broken pike, his house in flames in the distance, looks, to use his own expression, entirely "bothered." He scratches his head as he makes his reply, "Plunder and knapsacks! and ravishments and ruin of little Ireland!—why, by St. Pathrick, it's very odd, now; for the old girl seems to me to be offering me her heart and her hand, and her trade and the use of her shillalee to defend me, into the bargain! By Jasus, if you was not my old friend, Charley, I should think you meant to bother me with your whisperings, to put the old lady in a passion, that we may not buss one another, or be friends any more."

The year 1799 was that at which the outcry against sedition was greater than at any previous period, and in which extraordinary measures were taken to restrain the liberty or licence of the press. In July the ministry put in effect the extreme measure of subjecting printing-presses to a licence. The Tory caricatures still boasted of the absolute defeat of opposition, and they imagined that in its despair it was laying secret trains for the destruction of the constitution, and they were continually calling for severer political persecution. The King's Bench, and Newgate, and Cold-bath Fields, began to be filled with political offenders; the last had received the popular epithet of the "Bastille." A caricature published with the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, and entitled, "A charm for democracy, reviewed, analysed, and destroyed, January 1st, 1799, to the confusion of its affiliated friends," represents the members of the opposition assembled in the

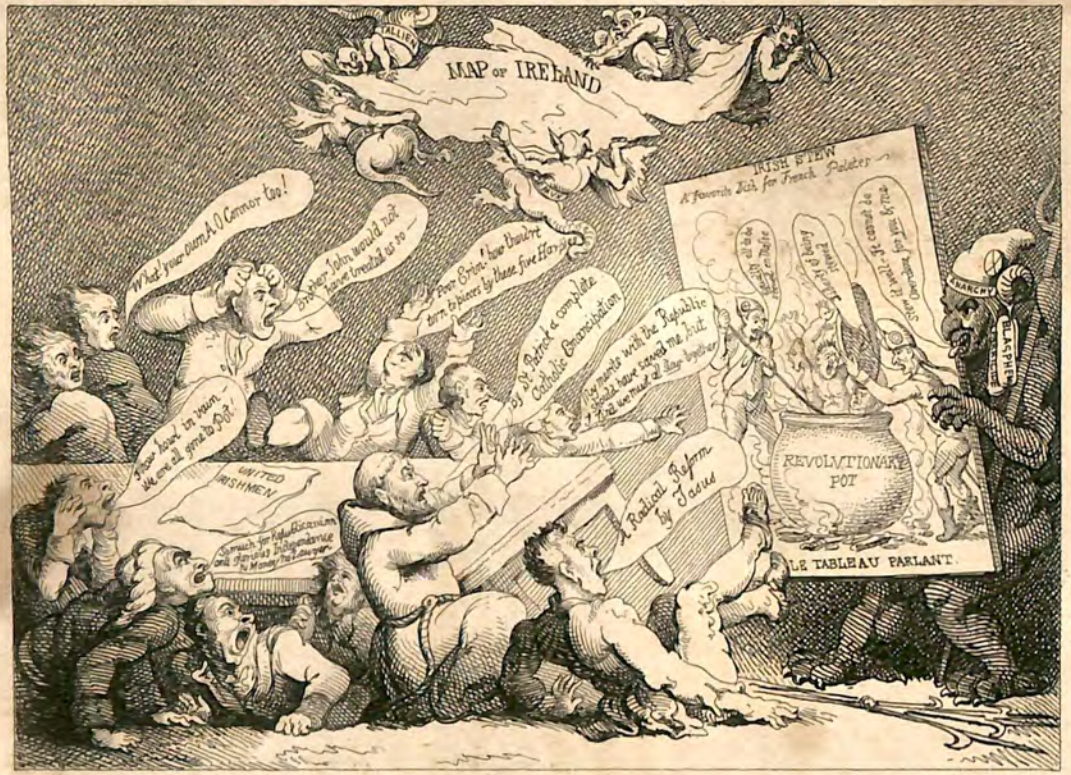
cave of Despair, where Tooke and two of his violent colleagues, as witches, are mixing up the caldron of sedition, under the immediate presidency of the evil one. The incantation is

> "Eye of Straw, and toe of Cade,
> Tyler's brow, Kosciusko's blade,
> Russell's liver, tongue of cur,
> Norfolk's boldness, Fox's fur;
> Add thereto a tiger's chaldron,
> For the ingredients of our caldron."

Above, in the sky, appears the King on his throne, backed by his ministers, throwing a glare of light on the machinations of the disaffected patriots. The King says, "Our enemies are confounded!" Pitt urges, "Suspend their bodies!". But the chancellor, more careful of the forms of law, says, "Take them to the King's Bench and Cold Bath Fields."

On the 22nd of January, the proposition for a union with Ireland was laid before Parliament in a message from the Crown. This subject, with the rebellion of the preceding year, caused the affairs of the sister island for some time to occupy a considerable share of public attention in this country. Caricatures on the subject were very numerous, as well as prints exhibiting respectively the violence and cruelty of the rebels, and the consequence of French influence. On the 1st of March was published with the *Anti-Jacobin Review* a print, apparently from the pencil of Rowlandson* (a copy of which is given in the accompanying plate), entitled "An Irish howl." It represents the United

* Most of Rowlandson's earlier political caricatures were published without his name, and many of them were not engraved by himself, so that it is not always easy to recognize them. The plate of which we are here speaking, however, bears very evident traces of his style, especially in some of the faces.



T. Rowlandson. del.

F.W. Fairholt. F.S.A. sc.

AN IRISH HOWL.

Irishmen terror-struck at a vision of the consequences of the French republican influence which they had invoked.

The property and income tax was a fruitful source of popular complaint. Gillray published on the 13th of March a caricature entitled "John Bull at his studies, attended by his guardian angel;" in which John Bull is seen puzzling himself over an immense mass of paper, rather ironically entitled, "A plain, short, and easy description of the different clauses in the income-tax, so as to render it familiar to the meanest capacity." He remarks very gravely, "I have read many crabbed things in the course of my time; but this for an easy piece of business is the toughest to understand I ever met with." Above Pitt appears, as John's guardian angel, playing to him upon the Irish harp,—

A GUARDIAN ANGEL.

> "Cease, rude Boreas, blust'ring railer,
> Trust your fortune's care to me."

A paper on the table bears the descriptive lines,—

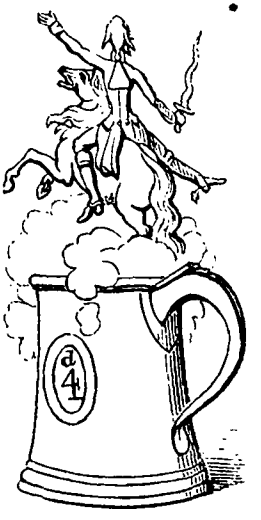
> "The sweet little cherub that sits up aloft,
> To keep watch for the *purse* of poor Jack."

Various seizures were made about this time of the persons and papers of some of the active members of the political societies, and the latter were laid before a secret committee of the House of Commons; but,

although much noise was made on the subject, very little of importance was found among them. The populace, however, was made to believe the contrary; and a large and elaborate print by Gillray, published on the 15th of April, entitled an "Exhibition of a democratic conspiracy, with its effects upon patriotic feelings," represents the Whig leaders turning away in dismay from the light thrown upon their proceedings by the committee, which illuminates a large transparency, exhibiting in four compartments the expected proceedings of the democrats in power, as they had been described over and over again in the Tory prints during the few years preceding:—first, they plunder the bank,—then they assassinate the Parliament (Fox is stabbing Pitt),—next, they steal the crown and the regalia from the Tower (Fox is carrying off the crown, and a party of sweeps are making a bonfire of the records),—and, lastly, they welcome the entry of the victorious French soldiery into the palace of St. James's. There must have been few persons left who would pay much attention to such exaggerated improbabilities as these. Yet the caricaturists persisted in their tactics of identifying English Whigs with French republicans. On the 7th of May, Gillray published a series of engravings entitled a "New Pantheon of Democratic Mythology," in one of which Fox, in allusion to his secession and retirement to the privacy of St. Anne's Hill is represented under the character of "Hercules reposing;" in another, Tierney, Sir George Shuckborough, and Mr. Jekyl, as "Harpies defiling the feast," are spoiling John Bull's roast-beef, plum-pudding, and pot of porter; and in a third the Duke of Bedford is represented as "the affrighted centaur" flying from the British lion. In

another caricature by Gillray, published on the 1st of May, Fox is represented in bed, ridden over by the Hiberno-Gallic republican nightmare. It is a parody on the well-known picture by Fuseli.

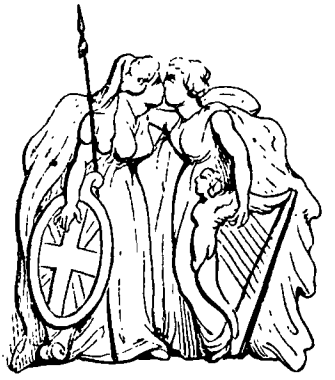
During the summer of 1799, domestic agitation seems to have experienced a calm; but, when the Parliament opened at the end of September, the necessity of levying new taxes soon stirred up new subjects of discontent. Among the taxes now announced was one upon beer, which would have the effect of raising the price of porter to fourpence the pot, and which would weigh especially heavy upon the labouring classes. The satirists on the Tory side pretended to sympathise most with the staunch old Whig, Dr. Parr, who was a great porter drinker and smoker, and no less an opponent of the government of William Pitt; and, on the 29th of November, Gillray published a spirited sketch of the supposed "Effusions of a Pot of Porter; or, ministerial conjurations for supporting the war, as lately discovered by Dr. P—r, in the froth and fumes of his favourite beverage." A pot of fourpenny is placed on a stool, with the doctor's pipe and tobacco beside it; from the froth of the porter arises Pitt, mounted on the white horse, brandishing a flaming sword, and breathing forth war and destruction on everything around. The doctor's "reverie" is a satire on the innumerable mis-



DEATH IN THE POT.

chiefs which popular clamour laid to the charge of the minister:—"Fourpence a pot for porter!—mercy upon us! Ah! it's all owing to the war and the cursed ministry! Have not they ruined the harvest?—have not they blighted all the hops?—have not they brought on the destructive rains, that we might be ruined in order to support the war?—and bribed the sun not to shine, that they may plunder us in the dark? (*Vide, the Doctor's reveries, every day after dinner.*)"

It took nearly two years to complete the union with Ireland; difficulties of various kinds arose, and had to be overcome; and some of these led eventually to the resignation of the minister. It was not till the first day of the new century that the two sisters were allowed at last to join in that kindly "buss," which a former caricature insinuated that it was the aim of the Whigs to hinder.* The Union took effect on the 1st of January, 1801, and on the next day appeared the proclamation of the King's new royal titles, from which that of King of France, with the fleur-de-lis, was omitted.



A KISS AT LAST.

With the end of the century the continent of Europe entered upon a new phase of its history. After a long stay in the east, which had no other result than that of exhibiting to the world an extraordinary pic-

* This cut is taken from a large caricature by Gillray, published in 1801, entitled "The Union Club." The two figures there occupy the back of the president's chair.

ture of the reckless injustice and rapacity of republican France, Buonaparte made his escape from Egypt. He appeared suddenly in France, and succeeded in overthrowing the Directory, and placing himself at the head of the state, under the title of first consul, on the 13th of December, 1799. The republic had now but a nominal existence, and even this shadow of the so long vaunted French liberty had but a temporary duration. The war had been carried on by England at sea with unvarying success; and the troops of the republic had sustained several severe defeats on the continent of Europe before the allied armies of the new coalition, which had been formed at the commencement of the year. Buonaparte, immediately after his appointment as first consul, made an attempt to get himself recognised on the footing of a sovereign prince by King George, but without success. Yet during the year 1800, the war seemed to fall spontaneously into a calm, and no actions of great importance were fought by sea or land. A caricature by Gillray remains as a memorial of the overthrow of the French Directory; it was published on the 21st of November 1799, and is entitled "Exit Liberté à la Françoise! or, Buonaparte closing the farce of Egalité at St. Cloud, near Paris, Nov. 10th, 1799."

CHAPTER XIV.

GEORGE III.

SOCIETY DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—COSTUME; EXTRAVAGANCE OF FASHIONS.—THE BALOON MANIA.—GAMBLING AND ITS CONSEQUENCES; LORD KENYON AND THE GAMBLING LADIES.—REVIVAL OF MASQUERADES; MRS. CORNELYS AND THE PANTHEON; LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE MASQUERADES.—THE OPERA, AND ITS ABUSES.—THE STAGE; SHERIDAN, KEMBLE, THE O. P. RIOTS.—PRIVATE THEATRICALS; WARGRAVE AND WYNNSTAY; THE PIC-NICS.—THE SHAKSPEARE MANIA; IRELAND'S FORGERIES, AND BOYDELL'S SHAKSPEARE GALLERY.—ART, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE.—PETER PINDAR AND THE ARTISTS; THE VENETIAN SECRET.—STATE OF THE PERIODICAL PRESS; LITERATURE IN GENERAL; BOZZY AND PIOZZI.—SCIENCE; THE SOCIETIES; SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

WHEN we look into the state of society in England, during the latter part of the last century, we must acknowledge the existence of many of the same causes that had led to such a fearful convulsion in the social system in France. Rousseaus and Voltaires were not wanting among our writers, and the fashionable philosophy of the day had made a deep impression. Hand in hand with it went a widely spreading spirit of immorality and licentiousness. The mania of gambling was rendering people reckless, and throwing numbers on the world who were ready to follow any desperate course in the hope of retrieving their shattered fortunes. The unjust monopoly of patronage by the aristocratic influence, and the neglect of a large mass of the talent of the country, was gradually teaching disaffection to the latter, and making it eager for any change that promised a chance of reaching the eleva-

tion to which it aspired. In all these respects, English society was closely imitating the example set in France; as it was in frivolity of manners, and in the extravagance of modes and dress. This imitation, towards the end of the century, was extending itself more and more into the middle classes of society, and we then, for the first time, hear general complaints that the daughters of tradesmen and farmers were sent for education to fashionable boarding-schools, and were taught to exchange the homely duties of their station for the modish accomplishments of fine ladies.

The strange vagaries in the forms of costume, among the *haut ton*, may be looked upon in some degree as indexes of the manners of the age, and are therefore not unworthy of our attention. For some years preceding the French revolution, the dress of the ladies was distinguished by the same superfluity in dimensions and stiffness in form that had shone so conspicuously in the costume of the age of the Macaronis. The artificial mass of head-dress had, it is true, been discarded, and the natural hair had been allowed to form the chief ornament of the head, though frizzled into a bush; but this *coiffure* had been followed by enormously broad-brimmed hats, and the dress of the body was gathered into immense projections before and behind. This costume, than which nothing could be less graceful or more absurd, soon became the object of abundance of jokes and ridicule. The prominence before was made to cover the bosom, and to make it seem unnaturally large; it was formed of linen and gauze, and went by the name of a *buffont*. The prominence behind was placed lower, and was equally ugly and ridiculous. Broad caricatures represented the in-

convenience of such appendages to the person; whilst others pretended to shew that they might be turned to useful purposes on extraordinary occasions. They originated, it appears, like most other fashions in dress which have prevailed in this country, in Paris, and there it was said that the posterior prominence was turned to a good account for the purpose of smuggling brandy through the gates of the city; a caricature, published in 1786, represents, in a humorous manner, the discovery of the fraud. The purposes to which such dresses were to be turned in England are described as exhibiting still greater ingenuity. The dress was so artificially built, and so much larger than the body, that it was supposed that the latter might be withdrawn from its covering without seriously deranging it; in a caricature, published on the 6th of May, 1786, entitled, "The bum-bailiff outwitted," a lady is represented as thus escaping from the hands of her pursuer. The bailiff is seizing her from behind, and holding forth his warrant with one hand; while the lady slips away *en chemise* below, leaving the shell without the substance — hat, wig, and dress sustain themselves so well in his grasp, that it is some time before he perceives the trick which has been put upon him. In the January of the year following (1787), when the dimensions of the hats, as well as of the prominences behind and before, had increased considerably, a caricature, entitled "Mademoiselle Parapluie,"

THE BAILIFF OUTWITTED.

shews how, in a sudden shower, this dress might be made to serve the purpose of an enormous umbrella, and shelter under its protection a whole family.

MADEMOISELLE PARAPLUIE.

As it will be observed in this last caricature, the other sex had begun to adopt a hat resembling in form that worn by the ladies, instead of the cocked hat previously in use. It was with the entire change in the character of the dress of both sexes, which followed the French revolution, that the tall, narrow-brimmed hat for men—the precursor of the hat as worn at the present day—was first introduced. At the same time came in large cravats, frilled shirts, and breeches bagging out in the upper part, but contracting to the thighs, and buttoned close down the legs. At the same time came an absolute rage for striped patterns, which procured for the wearers and their apparel the title of "zebras." A fop of this period is here given, from a caricature published on the 29th of March,

1791, entitled "Jemmy Lincum Feadle:" the style is French in the extreme, and the print is accompanied with the lines so often applied in similar cases, but never more appropriately:—

A "ZEBRA."

"Whoe'er with curious eye has ranged
Through Ovid's tales, has seen
How Jove incensed to monkeys changed
A tribe of worthless men.

"Jove with contempt the men survey'd,
Nor would a name bestow;
But woman liked the motley breed,
And call'd this thing a beau."

With the opening of the revolutionary period, the costume of the ladies underwent a very remarkable change in two of its striking peculiarities: the extraordinary stiffness and redundancy which had characterized the dress of the preceding period was suddenly changed for extreme lightness and looseness, and the waist, which had formerly been long, was diminished until it disappeared altogether. The bufonts and the "rumps" (as they were politely termed), disappeared also; the breasts, instead of being thickly covered, were allowed to protrude naked from the robe, which was very light, and hung loose from the bosom, with thin petticoats only beneath. A turban of muslin was wrapped round the head, surmounted with one, two, or three (seldom more) very high feathers, and often with straw, the manufactures in which had now been carried to great perfection. It appears to have been in 1794 that this fashion first reached so extravagant a point as to become an object of general ridicule; and the caricatures of dress during

that and the following years are very numerous. The one here given, from a print ascribed to Gillray, represents an exquisite of each sex in the month of May of the year just mentioned; the gentleman is still distinguished by the great cravat and the zebra vest, which latter is made all of a piece, and so as to give him the appearance of being as lightly covered as his partner. The immense cravats of the men are caricatured in other prints which appeared during this year. In a caricature by Gillray, published in the year following, entitled "A lady putting on her cap," the lady requires the aid of two maids to hold up the immense length of muslin which, seated at her toilet, she is wrapping round her head in the form of a turban. This turban, and its single feather rising high into the air, as well as the naked breasts and the deficiency of waist, are exhibited in the next figure, taken from a caricature entitled "The Graces for 1794," published on the 21st of July in that year. This lady wears another personal ornament in vogue at this period among the ladies—a watch of very large dimensions, with an enormous

EXQUISITES IN 1794.

ONE OF THE GRACES.

bunch of seals, &c., suspended from the girdle immediately below the breasts. From this girdle, without any waist, the robe flows loosely, giving the whole person an appearance as if the legs sprang immediately from the bosom.

This peculiarity was carried to still greater extravagance towards the end of the year. On the 1st of December, 1794, a caricature, entitled "The Rage; or, Shepherds, I have lost my waist," represents a lady in this predicament, refusing cakes and jelly offered her by an attendant, because her dressmaker had left her no body wherein to bestow either; it is accompanied with a parody on a popular song:—

"Shepherds, I have lost my waist,
Have you seen my body?
Sacrificed to modern taste,
I 'm quite a hoddy-doddy!"

"For fashion I that part forsook
Where sages place the belly;
'Tis gone—and I have not a nook
For cheesecake, tart, or jelly.

"Never shall I see it more,
Till common sense returning,
My body to my legs restore,
Then I shall cease from mourning.

"Folly and fashion do prevail
To such extremes among the fair,
A woman 's only top and tail,
The body's banish'd God knows where!"

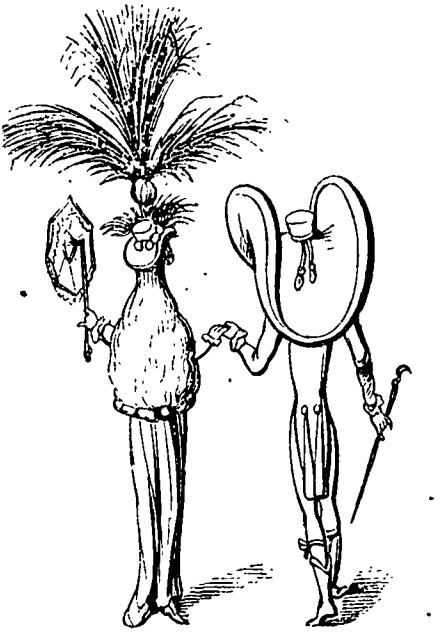
This absolute banishment of the body from the female form is exhibited in the adjoining figure of a lady in full promenade dress, taken from a caricature by Gillray, entitled "Following the fashion," published on the 9th of December, 1794. This caricature, in

the original, consists of two compartments, in the first, the figure here given is described as "St. James's giving the ton, a soul without a body;" the other presents a coarse fat dame of the city, finely but vulgarly dressed, who, from her corpulence would find some difficulty in getting rid of her body — she is an emblem of "Cheapside aping the mode, a body without a soul."

NO-BODY.

The dress of the man of fashion appears to have remained much the same from 1791 till near the end of the century, with the exception of the hat, which, at the period of which we are now speaking (1794 and 1795), took several fantastic shapes, having in some cases an enormously broad brim turned up at the sides. On the promenade, the ladies of fashion threw their hair back over the shoulders, and wore a hat resembling in form that of the other sex, but much smaller, with immense bushes of straw above. This also was the period when parasols came into general use, and they were carried in the manner represented in the following figures, taken from a caricature published on the 15th of January, and entitled "Parasols for 1795." The lady's hair, in this instance, appears to be spread out and plaited at the ends, and it extends over her back in such a manner as to answer almost the purposes of a mantle. The fashionable pair are represented in full promenade costume, and the hat of the

gentleman and the lady's parasol appear to answer much the same purpose.



PARASOLS FOR 1795.

During this year, the loose dresses, especially for in-door parties, continued in fashion, with the lofty feathers, which, to judge by pictures, must have had a picturesque effect in large assemblies. The short waists also still furnished matter for ridicule. In a caricature published on the 4th of August, 1795, the lady's dresses are ridiculed under the title of "Waggoners' frocks, or no bodys of 1795." The satirists began also at this time to cry out against short petticoats, and it appears to have become the fashion to expose the legs. Straw was coming more and more into vogue, and was more especially used in the head-dresses, and in the out-of-doors costume, and sometimes so profusely scattered over the head

and body that a print published on the 12th of July, represents a fashionable lady under the title of "A bundle of straw." It was at this period that straw-bonnets began to come into use. An epilogue spoken at Drury Lane in November, jokes on the prevailing fashion.

> "What a fine *harvest* this gay season yields!
> Some female heads appear like *stubble-fields*.
> Who now of threaten'd famine dare complain,
> When every female forehead teems with *grain*?
> See how the *wheat-sheaves* nod amid the plumes!
> Our *barns* are now transferred to drawing-rooms;
> While husbands who delight in active lives
> To fill their *granaries* may *thrash* their wives.
> Nor wives, alone prolific, notice draw,
> Old maids and young ones, all are *in the straw*!"

The loose style of the frock is ridiculed in a caricature published on the 9th of December, under the title, "A fashionable information for ladies in the country," which is illustrated by an extract from some one of the milliners' announcements for the season—"the present fashion is the most easy and graceful imaginable—it is simply this—the petticoat is tied round the neck, and the arms are put through the pocket-holes."

The fashion of light covering and exposure of the person was increasing at the beginning of 1796. A caricature published on the 20th of January, intended to improve on the actual manners of the day and picture "A lady's dress as it soon will be," represents the loose frock—the only covering—so arranged as to expose to view at every movement the whole of the body below the waist. According to other caricatures, the dresses actually worn were approaching fast

towards such a consummation; for the body is represented as covered with little more than a mere light frock, the very pocket-holes of which became the subject of many a wicked joke. Gillray, in a caricature published on the 15th of February, 1796, endeavours to shew that these pocket-holes, when placed sufficiently high, might be made useful: a lady of rank and fashion, dressed for the rout, could perform the duties of a mother, while her carriage waited at the door, without any derangement of her garments. The title of this print is, "The fashionable mamma, or the convenience of a modern dress; vide, The Pocket-hole, &c."

A FASHIONABLE MAMMA.

If we believe numerous caricatures published at this time, ladies who carried fashion to the extreme were not content with this paucity of covering, but they had it made of materials of such transparent texture, that they rivalled the celebrated costume among the ancients of which Horace has told us—

> "— Coïs tibi pœne videre est,
> Ut nudam."

In the caricatures of the spring of 1796, we see through the thick frock the tie of the garter and the outlines of the body. We have already had to allude to a print of this date, in which the Tory Duchess of Gordon is represented in one of these transparent

vests.* In a caricature by Gillray, entitled "Lady Godina's (for Godiva) Rout; or, Peeping Tom spying out Pope Joan," alluding probably to some forgotten incident of the time, the duchess's daughter, Lady Georgiana Gordon, shortly afterwards married to the Duke of Bedford, is represented in the very height of fashion, with a vest more transparent even than we have here ventured to represent it.

THE HEIGHT OF FASHION IN 1796.

The caricatures are of course considerably exaggerated, but they leave no room to doubt that the peculiarities which they ridicule were carried often to an extent that we should now have a difficulty in reconciling with strict propriety.

Lady Georgiana's head-dress furnishes a good example of the fashionable turban and feathers, which, with most of the other characteristics of the costume of this period, continued more or less during this and the following year. To judge from many of these pictures of contemporary manners, the politeness of our countrymen during the French revolutionary period was not shewn very conspicuously, except between those who were personally acquainted. A caricature, published by Gillray on the 21st of March, 1796, and entitled "High Change in Bond Street; or,

* See page 264 of the present volume.

la Politesse du Grande Monde," represents the fashionable loungers in that well-known promenade taking the pavement, while the ladies are obliged to walk in the gutter. One of these, seen from behind, represents a back view of the loose dress, and of the manner in which the hair was turned up over the turban.

A BACK-VIEW.

The caricatures on dress became less frequent after 1796, until 1799 and 1800, when they were again numerous. The principal change which had then taken place is the altered shape of the ladies' hats, which assume the form of a rounded bonnet, and the reappearance of the waist. The general dress of the ladies now approached nearer the natural form of the body, but there was still an outcry against its transparency, and it is represented as exhibiting distinctly to view the form of the limbs, and even the garters. Examples may be seen in a caricature by Gillray, entitled "Monstrosities of 1799 — see Kensington Gardens," published on the 25th of June in that year, and in several others of the same date. It would appear, that this taste for transparencies vanished in the severe winter which closed the year just mentioned, as a caricature, dated on the 5th of January, 1800, represents the ladies forced by the rigour of the

weather to cover their bosoms, and adopt drawers and petticoats under their thin robes; it is entitled "Boreas effecting what health and modesty could not do."

The male costume among people of fashion had gone through a greater change during the last years of the eighteenth century than that of the ladies. Among the "monstrosities" of the June of 1799, in the print already alluded to, is a beau in full dress. He wears large Hessian boots, with a coat of a new construction, buttoned close, and having high bunches on the shoulders; he has a large high cravat, rising above the chin, and his hat approaching nearer in shape to those worn at the present day. This costume, which was extremely ugly, was imported directly from France. The coat, perhaps from its inventor, was known by the name of a "Jean-de-Bry." If in former days of peace with France, which then under its King possessed the most polite court in Europe, our countrymen cried out against the importation of French fashions, we need not be surprised if they did the same now that the two countries had been so long engaged in a war distinguished by bitter animosity on both sides, and when Englishmen had been taught to look upon our republican neighbours as models of everything that was barbarous. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 18th of Novem-

ONE OF THE MONSTROSITIES.

ber, 1799, represents a "French tailor fitting John Bull with a Jean-de-Bry." The tailor is equipped in the detested bonnet rouge and its cockade, and appears delighted with his exploit.—"A-ha! dere, my friend, I fit you to de life!—dere is liberté!—no tight aristocratical sleeve to keep from you do vat you like!—a-ha!—begar! dere be only want von leetel national cockade to make look quite à la mode de Paris!" Poor John, who stands in his great Hessian boots on a book of "Nouveaux Costumes," and has evidently no taste for French liberty in any shape, exclaims in disgust, "Liberty! quoth'a! why, zound, I can't move my arms at all! for all it looks woundy big!—ah! d—n your French à la modes, they give a man the same liberty as if he was in the stocks!—Give me my old coat again, say I, if it is a little out at the elbows!"

JOHN BULL TRANSFORMED.

But John Bull's disgust availed little in counteracting the infection of French example in this respect; and in the very year when we were about to be terrified with the most extraordinary preparations for French invasion, our enemies sent us a costume which was uglier even than that last spoken of. Its distinguishing features were the coverings of the head, which consisted, in the one sex, of an enormous military cap, and in the other of a bonnet, probably of straw, of a very ungraceful form. They are represented in the

accompanying cut, taken from a caricature entitled, "Two of the Wigginses — tops and bottoms of 1803," published on the 2nd of July in that year.

THE MODE IN 1803.

The frivolity of manners and sentiments which gave rise from time to time to so much exaggeration of bad taste in dress, was no less frequently exhibited in the other paths of life, not only among the votaries of fashion, but through a large portion of society. Routs and balls had become objects of profuse extravagance; masquerades were revived, and became again the fury of the day; gambling and intriguing formed the chief occupation of immense numbers in all classes of society; and novelty, however absurd, was the object of adoration of the multitude as well as of the select who gave the *ton*. London was never so full of strange sights; and its population were never so ready to be gulled by them. It stands recorded in the newspapers of the time, on the 9th of September, 1785. "Hand-bills were distributed this morning, that a bold adventurer meant to walk upon the Thames from Riley's Tea Gardens." We are further informed that at the hour appointed thousands of people had crowded to the spot, and the river was so thickly covered with boats, that it was no easy thing to find enough water uncovered to walk upon. The man evaded his promise in a dishonest manner, and it was fortunate for him that the indignation of the multitude he had

been the instrument of bringing together, did not lead them to open violence. In other fashionable amusements we seemed to be going back to the ages of the Roman gladiators. It was at this period that Astley established his amphitheatre.

One of the most remarkable fashions of this period was a sudden and extraordinary rage for ascending in balloons, which had been brought to a certain degree of perfection by some Frenchmen, for it was from France also that this mania was imported. It was at its height in England during the years 1784 and 1785. As early as the 2nd of December 1783, when these aerial vehicles were newly come into notice, Horace Walpole writes, "balloons occupy senators, philosophers, ladies, everybody. France gave us the *ton;* and, as yet, we have not come up to our model." They soon became the object of epigrams, satires, speculations, and even prophecies; and people in joke, or in earnest, began to talk of scaling heaven in the face of day. An anonymous writer of a poem entitled, "The Air-balloon; or, Flying Mortal," published in April 1784, rises from step to step till he concludes in the enthusiastic prospect;—

> "How few the worldly evils now I dread,
> No more confined this narrow earth to tread!
> Should fire or water spread destruction drear,
> Or earthquake shake this sublunary sphere,
> In air-balloon to distant realms I fly,
> And leave the creeping world to sink and die."

The invention was already giving rise to some apprehensions in France, for at the commencement of May a royal *ordonnance* forbad the construction or sending up of "any aerostatic machine," without an express permission from the king, on account of the

various dangers attendant upon them, intimating however that these precautions were not intended to let this "sublime discovery" fall into neglect, but only to confine the experiments to the direction of intelligent persons. Blanchard was at this time the most distinguished and enterprising of the French aeronauts; his third "aerial voyage," which took place on the 18th of July, 1784,* made a great noise in England, and was soon imitated. An Italian gentleman, named Lunardi, secretary to the Neapolitan embassy, is said to have been the first person who ascended in a balloon in this country; he left the Artillery Ground in London, in company with an Englishman, at a quarter before two o'clock on Wednesday the 15th of September, 1784, and descended in a field near Ware, in Hertfordshire, at about six o'clock in the evening. In October, Blanchard came to London, and ascended from Chelsea with an Englishman named Shellon, on the 16th of October. On the 12th of November, Mr. Sadler made the first of a numerous series of aerostatic voyages, starting from Oxford. It began now to be generally acknowledged that these locomotive machines were so liable to accidents, that they were never likely to serve any useful purpose. Yet the fashion for them increased, and for several months they were the subject of continual papers in magazines and newspapers, besides giving rise to a number of pamphlets and prints, and a few caricatures. In one of the latter, the head of Folly occupies the place of the ball, with the inscription "The English Balloon,

* His first ascent had taken place on the 2nd of March. The first ascent of a balloon in France occurred on the 21st of November, 1783. The ascents in France during the year 1784 were very numerous, and excited interest even in England.

1784," on the front of the cap. We may quote as another proof of the extraordinary share of public at-

FOLLY IN A NEW SHAPE.

tention which these machines occupied, a successful farce, entitled "Aerostation; or, the Templar's Stratagem," brought out at Covent Garden on the 29th of October; in it the passion of a lady of fortune for balloons, and her desire to ascend in one, was made to furnish a Templar with the occasion for a stratagem by which he eventually obtains her hand. The prologue to this piece thus declares the future expectations from the popular discovery.

"I make no doubt to entertain you soon
With a new theatre in a *stage-balloon.*
No more in garret high shall poets sit,
With rival spiders spinning cobweb wit;
Like ancient barons future bards shall fare,
In *their own castles* built up *in the air;*
Dull poets there *behind a cloud* shall stay,
Whilst Fancy, darting to the source of day,
Bold as an eagle, her career shall run,
And with strong pinions fan the blazing sun."

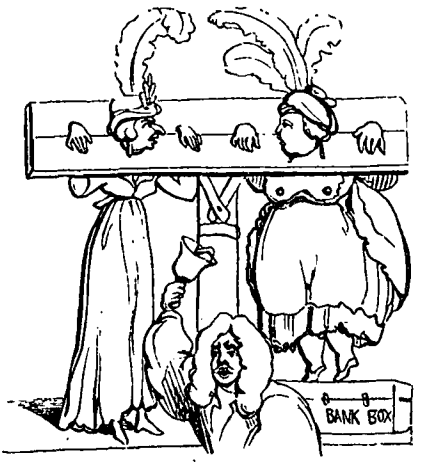
The chronicle of events given in the magazines of 1785, describes upwards of twenty remarkable balloon

excursions made during that year, seven of which occurred in the month of May. Blanchard had crossed the Channel from Dover to France in a balloon, on the 7th of January. On the 7th of May, 1785, Walpole writes from London, "of conversation, the chief topic is air-balloons: a French girl, daughter of a dancer, has made a voyage into the clouds, and nobody has yet broken a neck, so neither good nor harm has hitherto been produced by these aerial enterprises." On the 13th, Walpole adds, "Mr. Windham, the member for Norwich, has made a voyage into the clouds, and was in danger of falling to *earth*, and being *shipwrecked*. . . Three more balloons sail today; in short, we shall have a prodigious navy in the air, and then what signifies having lost the empire of the ocean?" On the 15th of July, M. Rozier and another Frenchman, ascended from Boulogne, and their balloon taking fire at an immense elevation, the aeronauts were both thrown to the earth and killed. This disaster seemed to have checked the passion for travelling in the air a little; yet there were several ascents in this country in July, and an attempt was made to pass the Irish channel, which failed. They became less frequent during the following months, and by the next session they seem entirely to have lost their popularity, to make way for some new object of temporary excitement.

No single vice was contributing so much to demoralize the nation as the passion for gaming, which ran through all ranks in society, but which was carried to an extraordinary pitch in the fashionable circles. It was well known that ladies of rank and fashion in the world associated together to support their private extravagance by seducing young men to the gambling

table, and stripping them of their money in the manner professionally termed "pigeoning." Faro-tables for this purpose were kept in the houses of some of the aristocracy. Three ladies in particular enjoyed this reputation, Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady Archer, and Lady Mount Edgcumbe, who from this circumstance became popularly known by the epithet "Faro's daughters." Numerous caricatures, among which are some of Gillray's happiest conceptions, have preserved the features and renown of this celebrated trio. Their infamous conduct had provoked in an especial degree the indignation of Lord Kenyon, who, on the 9th of May, 1796, in summing up a case connected with gambling, and lamenting in forcible terms that that vice so deeply pervaded the whole mass of society, animadverted with great severity on the higher orders of society who set the pernicious example to their inferiors, adding with some warmth, "They think that they are too great for the law: I wish they could be punished;"—and then, after a slight pause, he added, "If any prosecutions of this nature are fairly brought before me, and the parties are justly convicted, whatever be their rank or station in the country—*though they should be the first ladies in the land*—they shall certainly *exhibit themselves on the pillory*." If they escaped that pillory to which the angry judge had devoted them, there was another pillory which exposed these gaming ladies to equal scandal, if not to an equal punishment, and instead of being pilloried once, their ladyships stood for the public view, for weeks instead of hours, in the windows of every print-shop in the town. On the 12th of May, Gillray published a caricature entitled the "Exaltation of Faro's daughters," in which Ladies Buckinghamshire and Archer are

placed side by side in the threatened pillory, exposed to a shower of mud and rotten eggs which testify the joy of the mob at their disgrace; a placard stuck upon the pillory describes this process as a "Cure for gambling, published by Lord Kenyon in the Court of King's Bench, on May 9th, 1796." An imitation of this print of Gillray appeared on the 16th of May, under the title of "Cocking the Greeks," in which the same ladies are similarly exposed, but the short and plump Lady Buckingham is obliged to stand on the tip of her toes upon her own faro-bank box to raise her neck on a level with that of her taller companion;



LADIES OF ELEVATED RANK.

Lord Kenyon, in the character of public crier, is making his proclamation—"Oh yes! oh yes!—this is to give notice that several silly women, in the parishes of St. Giles, St. James, and St. George, have caused much uneasiness and distress in families, by keeping bad houses, late hours, and by shuffling and cutting have obtained divers valuable articles;—Whoever will bring before me . . . . ."

Lord Kenyon's threat, and the noise it then made

abroad, seem to have had equally little effect on the patrician offenders to whom it was designed to serve as a warning. Other caricatures followed, with as little success. One, published apparently about the beginning of 1797, represents these gambling dames "dividing the spoil," after a successful night, and compares them with a party of unfortunate women in St. Giles's, who are shewn in another compartment, sharing the various articles they have purloined from the pockets of their casual admirers. On one occasion, at the period just alluded to, Lady Buckinghamshire's faro-bank was stolen, while she and her party were closely occupied at their game. This circumstance produced a caricature by Gillray, entitled "The Loss of the Faro-bank," published on the 2nd of February, 1797, and gave rise to a mock heroic poem entitled "The Rape of the Faro-bank," which made its appearance about the same time. It was not long after this event that the offending ladies did fall into the power of their foe of the Bench. At the beginning of March, 1797, an information was laid against Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady E. Lutterell, and some other ladies and gentlemen of rank, for keeping faro-tables in their houses; and on the 11th of that month they were convicted of the offence, but Lord Kenyon seems to have forgotten his former threat, and he only subjected them to rather severe fines. This disaster furnished matter during several successive weeks to the newspapers for continual paragraphs, and the caricaturists took care to remind the judge of the disproportion between his present punishment and his former threat. In a caricature published on the 25th of March by Gillray, Lady Buckinghamshire is undergoing the punishment of being publicly flogged at the

cart's tail, while two of her companions are suffering in the pillory in the distance; over the cart a board is raised with the inscription, "Faro's daughters, beware." This print is entitled, "Discipline à la Kenyon." Another, published by the same artist on the 16th of May, is entitled "Faro's daughters, or the Kenyonian blow up to the Greeks." Four ladies here figure in the pillory, and Fox (who it was said often made one of the gambling party), himself in the stocks, supports one of the sufferers on his shoulders. Lord Kenyon is busily occupied in burning the cards, dice, and faro-bank. The lesson this time seems to have been more effectual than the former, and we hear little of Faro's daughters after this scandal had passed away.

The pernicious effects of the passion for gambling on society are but too evident in the manners and condition of the time. It was rapidly demoralizing all classes, and was accompanied everywhere with a general increase of crime, of which we evidently see but a small portion reported in the newspapers. Various pamphlets on the criminal statistics of the metropolis, shew us the alarming danger that existed, and the difficulty of grappling with it. The latter part of the eighteenth century was proverbially the age of highwaymen. On the 8th of September, 1782, Horace Walpole writes, "We are in a state of war at home that is shocking. I mean from the enormous profusion of housebreakers, highwaymen, and footpads; and, what is worse, from the savage barbarities of the two latter, who commit the most wanton cruelties. The grievance is so crying, that one dares not stir out after dinner but well armed. If one goes abroad to dinner, you would think one was going to the relief of Gib-

raltar."* Walpole repeats this complaint of the numbers and boldness of highwaymen not unfrequently during the following years; in January, 1786, the mail was stopped in Pall Mall, close to the palace, and deliberately pillaged, at so early an hour as a quarter past eight in the evening. Walpole observes, in continuation of the passage just cited, "You may judge how depraved we are, when the war has not consumed half the reprobates, nor press-gangs thinned their numbers! But no wonder—how should the morals of the people be purified, when such frantic dissipation reigns above them? Contagion does not mount but descend." And he adds further, "a new theatre is going to be erected merely for people of fashion, that they may not be confined to vulgar hours—that is to day or night."

Previous to this, the masquerades, which were long discountenanced and forbidden by the Court, had been revived, by an evasion of the order against them. A German singer, named Teresa Cornelys, who had come to England in the latter years of the reign of George II., opened a kind of private opera in Soho Square at the commencement of the reign of his successor, which was carried on until she was prosecuted by the manager of the Opera in the Haymaket, and compelled to close her house by the decision of a court of justice. Horace Walpole gives the following account of Mrs. Cornelys on the 22nd of February, 1771:—"Our most serious war is between two operas. Mr. Hobart, Lord Buckingham's brother, is manager of the Haymarket. The Duchess of Northumberland, Lady Harrington, and some other great ladies, without

* It was the time of the celebrated siege of Gibraltar, when that spot was so gallantly defended by General Elliott.

a licence erected an opera at Madame Cornelys's. This is a singular dame; she sang here formerly by the name of Pompeiati. Of late years she has been the Heidegger of the age, and presided over our diversions. Her taste and invention in pleasures and decorations are singular. She took Carlisle House, in Soho Square, enlarged it, and established assemblies and balls by subscription. At first they scandalized, but soon drew in both righteous and ungodly. She went on building, and made her house a fairy palace, for balls, concerts, and masquerades. Her opera, which she called Harmonic Meetings, was splendid and charming. Mr. Hobart began to starve, and the managers of the theatres were alarmed. To avoid the act, she pretended to take no money, and had the assurance to advertise that the subscription was to provide coals for the poor,—for she has vehemently courted the mob,—and succeeded in gaining their princely favour. She then declared her masquerades were for the benefits of commerce." Mrs. Cornelys's masquerades had made the greatest noise, and been most magnificent, during the year 1770: they were attended regularly by all the principal nobility and gentry in the kingdom, (as we are told, at each representation, by the newspapers of the day,) who went in splendid dresses; and one peculiarity was, that now all the masks acted up to their characters. On one occasion we learn that "Miss Monckton, daughter to Lord Gallway, appeared in the character of an Indian sultana, in a robe of cloth of gold, and a rich veil. The seams of her habit were embroidered with precious stones, and she had a magnificent cluster of diamonds on her head: the jewels she wore were valued at thirty thousand pounds." Some notion may be formed

of the sort of performance exhibited at these meetings from the following fragment of a newspaper report:—"Miss G——, in Leonora, looked charming; she sang the favourite air in the 'Padlock' with great sweetness. The situation of her pretty tame bird was envied by many. Mr. Andrews, in the dress of the Calmuc Tartar, was taken great notice of; the character he supported extremely well. The lady run mad for the loss of her lover, was a character well sustained for some time; but she soon recovered her senses; no other madhouse could have administered more effectual remedies. The two jockeys, who pretended to be just arrived from Newmarket, were very little knowing in any respect, and seemed more calculated for a country hop than the turf. The nurse with the child was rather diverting, but the brat very noisy and troublesome." Such remarks as these were continued through the whole assembly. On the 27th of February, 1770, we are informed that "Some of the most remarkable figures were,—a highlander (Mr. R. Conway); a double man, half miller, half chimney-sweeper (Sir R. Phillips); a political bedlamite, run mad for Wilkes and liberty and No. 45; a figure of Adam, in flesh-coloured silk, with an apron of fig-leaves; a druid (Sir W. W. Wynne); a figure of somebody; a figure of nobody; a running footman, very richly dressed, with a cap set with diamonds, and the words 'Tuesday night's club' in the front (the Earl of Carlisle); his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the old English habit, with a star on the cloak," &c. One of the grandest masquerades at the Soho rooms was that on the 7th of February, 1771, where two royal dukes, and nearly all the fashionable portion of the aristocracy, were present. On this oc-

casion Colonel Luttrell (the same who had opposed Wilkes in the election for Middlesex,) appeared as a dead corpse in a shroud, with his coffin. The taste for political allusions at these assemblies gained ground, and they soon became veritable caricatures not only upon society itself, but upon the events of the day. At a masquerade in 1784, we are informed in the newspaper report, that "A figure, representing Secret Influence, was well-drest, and seasonable in its point. He wore a black cloak, tied round with a girdle, labelled 'Secret Influence,'—a double face, and a wooden temple on the top of his head. A ladder was painted down his back, entitled 'The back stairs.' He had a dark lantern in his hand; but with all these accoutrements he was very dull; he hardly opened his mouth, and, when he did, he muttered some jargon in a whisper unintelligible to common ears; but perhaps he was in character to speak in whispers, and his inefficacy was design. He was followed by Public Ruin, which also was well equipped, and very pitiable." One of the characters in a masquerade in 1774 was "a mad politician," who was covered with bills and acts of parliament; "having lost the Boston port bill, he humorously accused Mr. Wedderburn of stealing it."

These masquerades were professedly private meetings, and their pretended object was to raise money for the poor; yet, in spite of the high rank of the people who attended them, great improprieties were allowed, and they led, under cover of the mask, to extraordinary licentiousness. Mrs. Cornelys was prosecuted for giving masquerades without licence, in 1771; and in the same year bills of indictment were preferred against her by the grand jury of Middlesex, in which she is accused of "keeping and maintaining a common and

disorderly house," and the fashionable company who frequented it are described as "divers loose, idle, and disorderly persons, as well men as women!" whom she "did permit and suffer to be and remain during the whole night, rioting, and otherwise misbehaving themselves." So far, however, from the masquerades being checked by such scandal, it was at this time that the rival and splendid Pantheon in Oxford Street (then called Oxford Road) was opened, and for several years the two establishments emulated each other in magnificence and gaiety, although Mrs. Cornelys became involved in difficulties, and her establishment experienced a temporary interruption.

The disorders of these assemblies seem, however, to have increased, and the public ear was continually offended with the scenes that took place in them. The want of delicacy in the fashionable company who chiefly supported Mrs. Cornelys had winked at the admission of loose women, and this was gradually carried to such an extent, that in the spring of 1772 it became the subject of so much scandal that it was found necessary to complain. In the following season the bench of bishops thought it their duty to interfere to put down the Pantheon masquerades, but a powerful intercession was made in their favour, and it was represented in this case also that their only object was the charitable one of raising money for the suffering poor. A caricature, representing the Macaronis petitioning the bishops in favour of the masquerades, entitled "The Pantheon Petition," was published with the *Oxford Magazine* in January, 1773. At a masquerade at the Pantheon on the 18th of February following, the number of people of rank and position in the world who attended was estimated at fourteen hundred. Yet

during this and the following year the licentiousness of these mixed assemblies was carried to so alarming a height, that the very actors in them became gradually disgusted,* and they seemed to be rapidly going out of fashion. In 1776 Mrs. Cornelys reopened Carlisle House in a style of extraordinary splendour, and the masquerades became as much the fashion as ever. In 1778, this lady, who had ruined herself by her exertions, was obliged to quit the management, which was carried on during another year unsuccessfully, and the masquerades at Carlisle House soon gave place to lectures and public assemblies of a totally different character. The *European Magazine* for July, 1789, contains "An Elegy written in Soho Square, on seeing Mrs. Cornelys's House in ruins." Mrs. Cornelys herself was eventually reduced to a state of helpless poverty; she died in the Fleet Prison in 1797.

The masquerades continued to flourish at the Pantheon, and were given also at the Opera House, at Ranelagh, and in other places, but they became gradually more and more degraded in their moral cha-

* The report of the masquerade, at the Pantheon, in May, 1774, given in the *Westminster Magazine*, (which was far from straight-laced in its morality,) observes,—"The last masquerade has had different accounts given of it, according as individuals felt. But, as one entirely unprejudiced, I do pronounce it uncommonly dull, but more particularly before supper. The champaign made some eyes sparkle, which nothing else could brighten, though a deal of wanton love was exercised to effect purposes most base and dishonourable. The room was crowded with courtezans; there was not a duenna in town who had not brought her Circassians to market; and, towards the conclusion of the debauch, I beheld scenes in the rooms up-stairs too gross for repetition. I saw ladies and gentlemen together in attitudes and positions that would have disgraced the court of Comus; ladies with their hair dishevelled, and their robes almost torn off. In short, I am so thoroughly sick of masquerading, from what I beheld there, that I do seriously decry them, as subversive of virtue, and every noble and domestic point of honour."

racter. One of the newspaper critiques on the masquerade at Carlisle House in February, 1779, laments gravely, "We were sorry to see such spirited exertions so poorly rewarded, as scarcely one person of distinction, or one *fille de joye* of note, was present, to give a *ton* to the evening's entertainments." At length we read in the *St. James's Chronicle* of April 23, 1795, the remark that "No amusement seems to have fallen into greater contempt in this country than the masquerades . . . . . they have been lately mere assemblages of the idle and profligate of both sexes, who made up in indecency what they wanted in wit."

The extreme licentiousness which appears to have reigned amid these riotous amusements, and the still greater immorality to which they led, was, like the mania of the women for gambling, only one shade of the general profligacy of this age. The shameless immorality which reigned among the higher classes in general, and which was propagated by example to the middle and lower classes, is but too evident in the popular writings of the day. The newspapers are full of advertisements offering means of indulgence. Instead of matrimonial advertisements, we meet with advertisements for mistresses; and, to quote a particular example, in 1794, the newspapers contain public advertisements of persons whose business it was to furnish means of concealing pregnancy and, when it could no longer be concealed, to deliver privately and dispose of the offspring so as to save the mother from scandal. The reign of George III. was especially the age of adultery in this country, which had really taken its place among the fashions of the day, and that crime had become almost a mania in the higher classes: there is, unfortunately, no want of evidence to prove

that it was common enough in the middle and lower classes. In many cases, the trials laid open scenes of profligacy in high life of the most revolting character. Ineffectual efforts were made at different times to check this evil by placing difficulties in the way of divorce. In the spring of 1779, Shute Barrington, Bishop of Llandaff, introduced into the House of Lords a bill with the object of discouraging this crime, by fixing a brand of infamy on the adulteress that might operate as a terror upon the mind; and he stated that as many divorces had occurred during the first seventeen years of the present reign as had taken place during the whole recorded history of the country:* the bill passed the Lords, but was thrown out in the House of Commons. Several similar attempts were made at different times; and one of these, in 1798, drew the Bishop of Durham into a severe attack upon the dancers of the Opera.

The Opera had lost somewhat of the novelty which it had possessed under George II., and for a while it seemed to be almost eclipsed by the popularity of Carlisle House and the Pantheon. Foreign singers no longer attracted that extraordinary worship which had been bestowed on them formerly, and towards the end of the century the managers seemed to have aimed at moving the passions of the audience by the small quantity of apparel which was allowed to the *danseuses*, and the freedom with which they exposed their forms to public view. An English dancer, Miss

* Morals were infinitely worse in France: it is stated in the *European Magazine* for August 1785, "Letters from Paris mention that there are no less than four hundred divorces pending before the Parliament; and eight hundred more before the Chatelet. A striking proof to what a height the corruption of morals is arrived in that kingdom." This must be set down as one of the true precursors of the revolution, which so soon followed.

Rose, who joined to a very plain face an extremely elegant figure and graceful movement, enjoyed great reputation in 1796, and seems to have led the new fashion for this kind of exhibition. A caricature picture of her by Gillray, published on the 12th of April, 1796, bears the motto, "No flower that blows is like this Rose." On the fifth of May following, Gillray caricatured this new style of dancing in a caricature entitled, "Modern Grace; or, the Operatical finale to the ballet of Alonzo e caro." On the 2nd of March, 1798, there was a debate in the House of Lords on a divorce bill, in the course of which the Bishop of Durham took occasion to complain of the frequency of such bills, and laid the fault upon the French government, who, he said, sent agents into this country on purpose to corrupt our manners: "He considered it a consequence of the gross immoralities imported of late years into this kingdom from France, the Directory of which country, finding that they were not able to subdue us by their arms, appeared as if they were determined to gain their ends by destroying our morals,—they had sent over persons to this country, who made the most indecent exhibitions on our theatres." He added, that it was his intention to move, on some future day, that an address be presented to his Majesty, beseeching him to order all such dancers out of the kingdom, as people who were likely to destroy our morality and religion, and "who were very probably in the pay of France!" This appeal seems to have produced some interference of authority; for on the very next night, Saturday, the 3rd of March, the ballet of Bacchus and Ariadne, which was to have been performed at the Opera House, was postponed, and another substituted, until other

dresses could be prepared. The improvement, as we learn from the newspaper reports, consisted in substituting white stockings for flesh-coloured silk, and in adding a certain quantity of drapery above and below. The change made no little noise abroad, and was the subject of abundance of ridicule; the bishops and the opera-dancers figured together in numerous caricatures. In one by Gillray, published on the 14th of March, a group of *danseuses* are made to conceal a portion of their personal charms by adopting the episcopal apron; it is entitled "Operatical reform; or, *la Danse à*

THE DANCE A L'EVEQUE.

l'Evêque," and is accompanied with the following lines:—

"'Tis hard for such new-fangled orthodox rules,
That our opera troop should be blamed;
Since, like our first parents, they only (poor fools!)
Danced naked and were not ashamed."

The figure to the right will be recognised as that of Miss Rose. Another caricature by Gillray, published on the 19th of March, and entitled "Ecclesiastical Scrutiny; or, the Durham Inquest on Duty," represents the bishops attending at the dressing of the

opera girls, where one is measuring the length of their petticoats with a tailor's yard, another is arranging their stockings in the least graceful manner possible, and a third is giving directions for the form of their stays. Amongst others on the same subject, one of the best is entitled "Durham Mustard too powerful for Italian Capers; or, the Opera in an uproar," and represents the bishop armed with his pastoral staff rushing on the stage to encounter the spirit of the evil one embodied in bare legs and open bosoms. How long the episcopal censure kept the opera in order we are not told; but the rage for opera dancing increased under the influence of Vestris.

The regular drama, in the mean time, continued to hold the elevated position given to it by Garrick, and a number of actors of first rate talent drew constant audiences to the theatres. It would take too much room in a slight sketch like this even to allude to the various petty squabbles and rivalries of actors and managers during this long reign, or to the numerous pamphlets of different kinds to which they gave rise, and which deserve only to be forgotten. Drury Lane flourished under the proprietorship of Sheridan, and with the dramas which have given celebrity to his name, while it enabled him in more ways than one to support his position as a statesman, although his thoughtless extravagance often drained its resources, and sometimes clogged the regular movement of the company. In the September of 1788, John Kemble became the stage-manager, and gave strength to the company. On the extraordinary success of the tragedy of "Pizarro" in 1799, the Tory party seem to have attributed it in great part to Kemble's acting; and a caricature, published with

the *Anti-Jacobin Review* on the 1st of October, represents Sheridan in the character of Pizarro borne through upon Kemble's head. Gillray had published

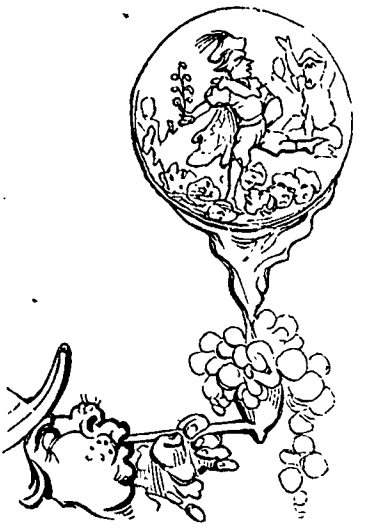
SHERIDAN UPON KEMBLE.

a caricature on the 4th of June, entitled "Pizarro contemplating over the product of his new Peruvian mine," which represents Sheridan exulting over his newly-acquired riches. The popularity of this play was so great, that it produced a number of pamphlets relating to its hero, and made multitudes read the history of Peru who had never thought of it before. The performances at Drury Lane seem to have been falling in interest and in pecuniary productiveness, when, on the 5th of December, 1803, a "serio-comic romance" was brought out under the title of "The Caravan," the chief characteristic of which was the introduction on the stage of real water and of a large Newfoundland dog, which was made to rush into it and drag out the figure of a child. A contemporary criticism tells us that "the main object of the author seems to have been to produce novelty, and, through novelty to excite surprise. The introduction of real water flowing across the stage, and a dog acting a principal part, chiefly attracted

attention, and seemed amply to gratify curiosity." This piece, in spite of the puerility of the idea, had an extraordinary run, and, to use the words of the critic just quoted, was "very productive to the treasury." The Tory opponents of Sheridan as a politician represented this as a well-timed and very necessary relief; and Sayer, in a large caricature published on the 17th of December, represents the dog Carlo, in his artificial pond on the stage, holding Sheridan's head above water. It is inscribed, "The Manager and his Dog; or, a new way to keep one's head above water, a Farce performed with rapturous applause at Drury Lane Theatre. Motto for the Farce,—'And Folly clapped his hands and Wisdom stared.'" Thalia, on a pedestal, is represented weeping at the prostitution of the drama.

The Drury Lane company appears to have been now under the frequent necessity of having recourse to expedients of this kind to catch popular favour. The year 1805 witnessed the extraordinary sensation produced by the "infant Roscius," (Master Betty), who was brought on the stage at Drury Lane when only twelve years of age. The extraordinary sums of money which this child produced were an important assistance at this moment to Sheridan, who made the most of his good fortune. His political opponents were loud in their declamations against "The Theatrical Bubble," a title under which Gillray published a caricature on the 7th of January, 1805, in which he represented Sheridan as Punch on the boards of old Drury, with a few additional gems added to his ruby nose from the profits of his theatrical treasury, blowing the bubble which had replenished it, and surrounded by some of his friends who had been

loudest in their patronage of the prodigious infant, among whom we easily recognise Lord Derby, Lord Carlisle, Mrs. Jordan, and her admirer the Duke of Clarence. Fox is expressing somewhat boisterously his joy at the success of his political friend.



A BUBBLE.

This appears to have been the most prosperous period of Sheridan's finances. On the 24th of February, 1809, Drury Lane theatre was burnt to the ground, while Sheridan was at his post in the House of Commons. With it ended his theatrical and parliamentary prospects.

Covent Garden theatre had been involved in the same calamity only a few months before, on the morning of Tuesday the 19th of September, 1808, and was now in rapid progress of rebuilding. Its reopening led to the most extraordinary theatrical riots that this country has ever witnessed. John Kemble had left Drury Lane to become part proprietor and manager of Covent Garden, where he made his first appearance on the 24th of September, 1803. Kemble was unpopular with all but the aristocratic portion of his audience, to whom exclusively he was accused of paying his court. He is said to have been proud and authoritative in his bearing towards others, and to have given disgust by the affectation which was exhibited in his manners, language, and even in his acting. An amusing instance of this was shewn in the obstinacy with

which he contended that the word *ache* should be pronounced as if written *aitche*, and in the pertinacity with which he held himself to that pronunciation. In a sketch of the history of Covent Garden in the same number of the *Examiner* which contains the account of the burning of the theatre, the writer expresses the popular sentiments in his concluding observation;—"From the general tenour of his management, I am sorry that instead of concluding this brief chronicle with the customary 'whom God long preserve!' it will be much more congenial to the wishes of the town to hope that, as a stage-manager, Mr. Kemble may be speedily removed."

Immediately after the destruction of the theatre by fire, Kemble solicited a subscription to rebuild it, which was speedily filled up, the Duke of Northumberland, to whose son he had given instruction in elocution, contributing the handsome donation of ten thousand pounds. Gillray has commemorated this circumstance in a caricature entitled, "Theatrical Mendicants relieved," in which the manager of Covent Garden theatre is represented in garments all tattered and torn, seeking charity at the door of Northumberland House. The first stone of the new building was laid with great ceremony by the Prince of Wales, (as grand master of the British free-masons,) on the last day of the year 1808, and it was completed with such rapidity, that on the 18th of September, 1809, it was opened with Macbeth, Kemble himself appearing in the character of Macbeth. In the new arrangement of the hall, a row of private boxes formed the third tier under the gallery; they were twenty-six in number, with a private room behind each, and the access was by a staircase exclusively appropriated to them,

with an exclusive lobby also, having no communication with the other parts of the house. The furniture of each box and of the adjoining room, was to be according to the taste of the several occupants. To make these extraordinary accommodations for the great, the comforts of the rest of the audience were considerably diminished, especially in the other tiers of boxes, and in the gallery, and one part was reduced to little better than a row of pigeon holes. To crown all, the theatre opened with an increase of the prices, the pit being raised from three shillings and sixpence to four shillings, and the boxes from six shillings to seven shillings. The manager said that this was necessary to cover the great expense of rebuilding the theatre; but the public were not satisfied with this explanation; they declared that the old prices were sufficient, and that the new ones were a mere exaction to contribute to Kemble's private extravagance, to enable him to pay enormous salaries to foreigners, like Madame Catalani, (who had been engaged at one hundred and fifty pounds a week to perform two nights only,) and to pander to the luxury of the rich. The popular belief in the extreme profligacy of the higher classes, led people to figure to themselves that the rooms attached to the private boxes were to be used for the most shameful purposes, and they accused the manager of having built a bagnio instead of a theatre.

On the first night of representation, which was Monday, the curtain drew up to a crowded theatre, and the audience seemed to be lost in admiration at the beauty of the decorations, until Kemble made his appearance on the stage in the character of Macbeth; a faint attempt at applause, got up by his own friends, was in an instant drowned by an overpowering noise

of groans, hisses, yells, and every species of vocal power that could be conjured up for the occasion, which drove him from the stage, after two or three vain attempts to proceed, and which was redoubled every time he made an attempt to return. Mrs. Siddons then came forward, but met with no better reception than her brother. The performance was, however, persevered in, but the uproar continued through the whole of the evening, and was continued to a late hour. It was understood that Kemble had declared that he would not give in to the popular clamour, and had anticipated that if it was allowed to take its course, it would soon wear itself out. But the next night, and the nights following, it was continued with greater fury than ever, and to the voice were now added a multitude of cat-calls, horns, trumpets, rattles, and a variety of other instruments of discordant music. An attempt at intimidation served only to increase the exasperation of the audience. On Wednesday night, the manager came forward to address the audience, and attempted to make a justification of his conduct, which was not accepted; on Friday he presented himself again, and proposed that the decision of the dispute should be put to a committee composed of the governor of the Bank of England, the attorney general, and a few other great names. On Saturday night this was agreed to, and the theatre was shut up till the decision was obtained, the obnoxious Catalani having, in the meantime, agreed to cancel her engagement.

On the following Wednesday the theatre was reopened, but the report of the committee being of a very unsatisfactory kind, for it was believed that the whole was a mere trick to gain time, in hopes that the

excitement would subside, the uproar became greater than ever. The manager, who was determined to vanquish the popular feeling, is said to have hired a great number of boxers, and on the Friday night following the various pugilistic contests in the pit gave it the appearance of a regular boxing-school. Bow-street officers were also called in, but they appear to have acted indiscreetly, and the only effect of this appeal to violence was to fill the police-offices with cases of assault and riot, the result of which added fuel to the flame, which it appeared totally impossible to extinguish.

The rioters, who appear to have been acting under the guidance of people of education and talent, did not restrict themselves to mere noise. They said it was John Bull against John Kemble, and they were determined that John Bull should have the mastery. As no expression of sentiments could be heard amid the uproar, they stuck up placards, and raised banners all over the house, covered with proverbs, lampoons, and encouragements to persevere, written in large characters, and to these were soon added large painted caricatures. In the latter Kemble was figured hanging, or fixed in the pillory, or in some other ignominious position. The private boxes, and those who came to occupy them, were the especial objects of abuse, and the theatre was filled with placards, inscribed, "No private boxes for intrigues!"—"No private boxes with sofas!"—"No crim. con. boxes!" These were mixed with numerous others, of the most licentious description, and large pictures of such a character that it was impossible for any respectable woman to remain in the theatre a moment. The consequence of this was, that very few attended except those who took part in the riot, and the part of the theatre which contributed

most to the treasury was nearly empty. Songs were also made for the occasion; and the following parody on the national anthem was especially popular.

"God save great Johnny Bull,
Long live our noble Bull,
God save John Bull!
Make him uproarious,
With lungs like Boreas,
Till he 's victorious,
God save John Bull!

"O Johnny Bull, be true,
Oppose the *prices new*,
And make them fall!
Curse Kemble's politics,
Frustrate his knavish tricks,
On thee our hopes we fix,
Confound them all!

"No *private boxes* let
Intriguing ladies get,—
Thy right, John Bull!
From little *pigeon-holes*
Defend us jolly souls,
And we will sing, *by Goles!*
God save John Bull!"

There was much satire expended on Kemble, and his "*aitches*" were turned to ridicule in every possible manner. Many of the placards were extremely humorous, and these, with the jokes and squibs that passed thickly about, helped to keep up the spirit of the riot, while songs and caricatures circulated freely about the town. Badges, consisting of the letters O. P. (*old prices*), in large characters, were worn at the theatre, at first cut in pasteboard, but afterwards formed in metal, and some even in silver. Medals were also struck, and distributed about. One of these, now before me, represents on the obverse the head of Kemble, wearing a fool's cap, and

accompanied with a penny-trumpet and a rattle; above it is the inscription, "Oh, my head *aitches!*" and below the word "Obstinacy!" The reverse bears the letters O. P. in the centre, surrounded with the inscription, "John Bull's Jubilee —Clifford for ever!" The allusion is to the jubilee, to celebrate the completion of the fiftieth year of the King's reign, and to a barrister of the name of Clifford, who was understood to be the chief leader of the riot.

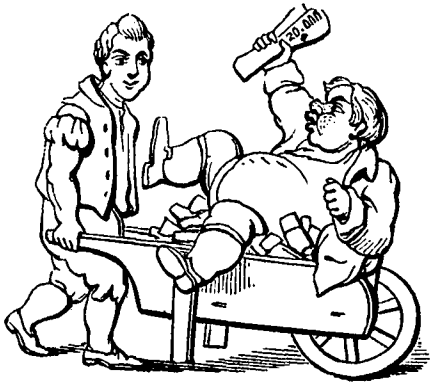
AN O. P. MEDAL.

This profuse exhibition of placards was quite a novelty in theatrical rioting. One of the placards in the month of October was inscribed, "A row for our rights, to be continued for *forty* nights," but the uproar seemed likely to be carried on for ever. It soon took a form quite regular and systematic: the play was heard with few interruptions till half-price; the boxes, especially the private ones, were nearly empty, and even the pit was almost deserted. At half-price the rioters rushed in, the placards were raised, the uproar commenced, and all that passed on the stage afterwards was mere pantomime. At the conclusion, the audience rose and sang "God save the King!" had a dance in the pit, gave three groans for John Kemble, then three cheers for John Bull, and so dispersed. Sometimes the uproar was continued in the streets, and in more than one instance it was carried to Kemble's house, and he was himself mobbed and insulted. This was continued night after night, with scarcely any interruption, not for weeks only, but for more than three months. During this period everything distinguished by the epithet O. P. became

fashionable. There was an "O. P. dance." The most active agent of the managers against the rioters, and, therefore, the most unpopular with them, was the box-keeper, Mr. Brandon. He had caused Clifford to be arrested on slight grounds, and the latter brought an action against him for damages, and obtained a verdict against him in the Court of Common Pleas on the 5th of December. Gillray on that day published a caricature entitled "Counsellor O. P.—defender of your theatric liberties," in which Clifford is represented holding a torch behind him, and looking on while Covent Garden Theatre is in flames. The verdict against Brandon gave new courage to the opponents of the new prices; and finding it utterly impossible to appease them in any other way, Kemble at length gave up the contest. A public dinner of the more respectable of the O. P. agitators was held on the 14th of December at the Crown and Anchor, at which no less than five hundred persons are said to have attended, and Kemble came in person to make an apology for his conduct, and announce his willingness to accede to any compromise that should be agreeable to them. After dinner there was a crowded theatre, and, amid considerable uproar, a humble apology was accepted from the manager, and it was agreed that the private boxes should be reduced to the same number which existed in 1802; that the pit should be reduced to its original price of 3*s.* 6*d.*, but that the price of admission to the boxes should remain at 7*s.*; that the obnoxious Mr. Brandon should be dismissed (at least he was compelled to resign his place); that all prosecutions and actions on both sides should be abandoned; and that Kemble should make a public apology for having introduced improper persons into the

theatre. The last article referred to the boxers and police. After all these demands had been complied with, a large placard was unfurled, containing the words, "We are satisfied," and at the conclusion of the play the pit gave three cheers for Clifford. Thus ended this extraordinary contest. A theatrical reconciliation dinner was given on the 4th of January, 1810, at which both parties attended, and at which Clifford was placed in the chair.

Drury Lane theatre was also rebuilt by subscription, under the directions of Mr. Whitbread, who agreed that Sheridan should receive 24,000*l.* for his moiety of the property, with an additional 4000*l.* for the property of the fruit-offices and reversion of boxes and shares, in consideration of which he was to have no connexion whatever with the new undertaking. Many complained of the manner in which Whitbread thus thrust Sheridan out of the proprietorship which had so long supported him to be an ornament of the legislative assembly of the nation, while others exulted in his overthrow. A caricature, published in the October of



CLEARING AWAY RUBBISH.

1811, when the new theatre was completed, and these stipulations put in force, is entitled, "Clearing away

the rubbish of Old Drury," and represents Whitbread in the character of a brewer's man wheeling away Sheridan in a barrow among a heap of old bricks. Sheridan is made to exclaim (in allusion to his peculiarly persuasive eloquence), "Hope told a flattering tale—d—n that brewer and his entire, he has washed me out with only 20,000*l.*, but I know how to palaver them over, and get in again."

The general taste for the drama had certainly increased towards the end of the last century, and it was evinced in the new fashion for private performances among the aristocracy. The houses where this fashion was indulged in with greatest splendour, were Wynnstay, the seat of Sir W. W. Wynne; Wargrave, the seat of Lord Barrymore; and Crewe Hall, near Chester. The parties at Wynnstay were especially distinguished for their elegance. At the commencement of the century, a society of private, or, as they termed themselves, "dilettanti" actors, was formed in London, and assumed the name of the Pic-Nic Society, from the manner in which they were to contribute mutually to the general entertainment. That old meteor of London fashion, Lady Albina Buckinghamshire, is understood to have been the originator of this scheme, in which, besides the performance of farces and burlettas, there were to be feasts and ridottos, and a variety of other fashionable amusements, each member drawing from a silk bag a ticket which was to decide the portion of entertainment which he was expected to afford. The performances took place in rooms in Tottenham-street. This harmless piece of fashionable amusement produced a greater sensation than it is now possible to conceive. The populace had been so long accustomed to hear of aristocratic de-

pravity, that they could understand nothing private in high life without attaching to it ideas of licentiousness, and there was a notion that the Pic-Nic Society implied some way or other an attack upon public morals. Complaints were made against it which led almost to a pamphlet war. The professional theatricals were angry and jealous, because they thought that the aristocratic love of theatrical amusements, which had supported them in their exertions, would evaporate in private parties.

Nearly the whole periodical press attacked the Pic-Nics without mercy, and the daily papers teemed with abuse and scandal. They were ridiculed and caricatured on every side. Gillray produced no less than three caricatures on the Pic-Nics. The first of these, published on the 2nd of April, 1802, soon after the society had been established, is entitled "Blowing up the Pic-Nics; or Harlequin Quixotte attacking the Puppets, —vide, Tottenham Street Pantomime." The Pic-Nic party are represented as puppets in the midst of their festivities, which are disturbed by the attack of the infuriated actors, among whom we recognize Kemble, Siddons, Billington, &c., led by Sheridan, who, dressed as harlequin, rushes to the assault, armed with the pen of the *Post*, *Chronicle*, *Herald*, *Evening Courier*, &c., whose attacks he is supposed to have directed against them. In another of Gillray's caricatures, entitled "The Pic-Nic Orchestra," the noble and fashionable performers are represented on duty. A third caricature, published on the 18th of February, 1803, is entitled "Dilettanti Theatricals,—vide Pic-Nic Orgies;" it represents the motley group dressing for the stage, and is full of humour, with a considerable sprinkling of licentiousness. At this latter date the

society seems to have been already sinking under the load of obloquy and ridicule to which it was exposed, and before the year was out the regular theatricals were relieved from any jealousy that such attempts might excite.

During the whole of our present period, the managers of the two principal theatres continued to exert themselves in making Shakespeare popular on the stage, and for some time with success. Garrick had done most of any one to bring the bard into fashion, and the Stratford Jubilee in 1769 had raised an absolute Shakespeare mania. This new fashion had also exhibited itself in the extensive study of Shakespeare's writings, and in the extraordinary number of new editions that succeeded each other. Annotator followed annotator, and the text of the poet seemed in danger of being torn to pieces amid Shakespeare admirers and Shakespeare disputes. The following ballad, from the *Westminster Magazine* for October, 1773, gives rather an amusing and not an inaccurate enumeration of the Shakespeare editors who had succeeded each other previous to that period:—

"SHAKESPEARE'S BEDSIDE.

"Old Shakespeare was sick;—for a doctor he sent;
But 'twas long before any one came;
Yet, at length, his assistance Nic Rowe* did present:
Sure all men have heard of his name.

"As he found that the poet had tumbled his bed,
He smooth'd it as well as he could;
He gave him an anodyne, comb'd out his head,
But did his complaint little good.

* Nicholas Rowe was the first *editor* of Shakespeare; his edition appeared in seven volumes in 1709-10.

" Doctor Pope to incision at once did proceed,
And the bard for the simples he cut;
For his regular practice was always to bleed,
Ere the fees in his pocket he put.

" Next Tibbald advanced,* who at best was a quack,
And dealt but in old woman's stuff;
Yet he caused the physician of Twick'nham to pack,
And the patient grew cheerful enough.

" Next Hanmer,† who fees ne'er descended to crave,
In gloves lily-white did advance;
To the poet the gentlest of purges he gave,
And, for exercise, taught him to dance.

" One Warburton then, though allied to the church,
Produced his alterative stores;
But his med'cines the case so oft left in the lurch,
That Edwards ‡ kicked him out of doors.

" Next Johnson arrived to the patient's relief,
And ten years he had him in hand;
But, tired of his task, 'tis the general belief
He left him before he could stand.

" Now Capell drew near—not a quaker more prim—
And number'd each hair in his pate;
By styptics, called *stops*, he contracted each limb,
And crippled for ever his gait.

" From Gopsal then strutted a formal old goose,
And he 'd cure him by inches he swore;
But when the poor poet had taken one dose,
He vow'd he would swallow no more.

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* Theobald's edition of Shakespeare was first printed in 1733, and was often reprinted. After all that has been done to the text since, it is one of the best editions, in spite of the character our ballad-writer here gives him.

† Sir Thomas Hanmer's *handsome* edition was published at Oxford in 1744.

‡ " One Edwards, an apothecary, who appears to have known more of the poet's case than some of the regular physicians who undertook to cure him." Thomas Edwards published, in 1748, what is described as a Supplement to Warburton's Shakespeare, under the title of " The Canons of Criticism and Glossary."

" But Johnson, determin'd to save him or kill,
A second prescription display'd;
And that none might find fault with his drop or his pill,
Fresh doctors he call'd to his aid.

" First, Steevens came loaded with black-letter books,
Of fame more desirous than pelf;
Such reading, observers might read in his looks,
As no one e'er read but himself.

" Then Warner, by Plautus and Glossary known,
And Hawkins, historian of sound;
Then Warton and Collins together came on,
For Greek and potatoes renown'd.

" With songs on his pontificalibus pinn'd,
Next Percy the great did appear;
And Farmer, who twice in a pamphlet had sinn'd,
Brought up the empirical rear.

" ' The cooks the more numerous, the worse is the broth,'
Says a proverb I well can believe;
And yet to condemn them untried I am loth,
So at present shall laugh in my sleeve."

It was this rage for everything Shakespearian that brought into existence those forgeries of William Henry Ireland, so well known as the Shakespeare manuscripts. The history of the pretended discovery of these papers was in substance closely similar to the story fabricated by Chatterton for his Rowley Papers, and indeed to that of all other literary frauds of the same description. A few documents were first produced, as having been found among old family deeds, and the success of these led to the production of others. These the inventor first shewed to his father, Samuel Ireland, so well known by his illustrations of Hogarth and other works, and by him they were communicated to others, and a number of men of high literary character, such as Dr. Parr, Dr. Warton (who

had previously believed in the Rowley Papers), Boswell, Erskine, and others, declared their full belief in their authenticity. In 1796, a substantial folio was published, containing miscellaneous papers and legal instruments, under the hand and seal of William Shakespeare, with the tragedy of "Lear" and a fragment of "Hamlet," *from the original manuscript.* This work caused the most extraordinary sensation, and scarcely anything else was talked of, not only in the literary world, but among society in general. But Malone, Steevens, and others, who were more critically acquainted with the writings of the great poet, at once pronounced all these documents as forgeries, and Malone published a volume, addressed to Lord Charlemont, exposing the fraud. Before this exposure came out, young Ireland had proceeded another step in the plot, for he produced a play entitled "Vortigern," as an unknown work of Shakespeare, which had been found among the same papers, and he took it to Sheridan for representation at Drury Lane. Sheridan made no pretensions to antiquarian knowledge; he expressed some surprise at the mediocrity of many parts of the play, but he said that it was evidently an *ancient manuscript,* and he thought that the public excitement on the subject might justify his bringing it forward at Drury Lane.

The night fixed for the representation of "Vortigern" was the 2nd of April, 1796, and it was supported by all the talent of John and Charles Kemble, Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. Powell, and the other best actors of the company. Malone's critique on the printed papers had appeared before this performance, and, to counteract it, a declaration of their authenticity was produced,

signed by a number of distinguished but credulous persons, with Dr. Parr at their head; and a handbill was distributed at the door and in the theatre, designating Malone's "Inquiry" as "a malevolent and impotent attack," and promising a prompt and satisfactory reply. A prologue had been written by Pye, the poet laureate, which seemed to insinuate a doubt of the fact of Shakespeare being the author, and this was therefore laid aside, to make place for one written by Sir James Bland Burges, which, read by Mr. Whitfield (who is said to have been too flurried to speak it), commenced with a bold assertion that the piece about to be acted was the work of Shakespeare, and demanded the attention of the audience to it as such :—

> "No common cause your verdict now demands,
> Before the Court immortal Shakespeare stands—
> That mighty master of the human soul,
> Who rules the passions, and, with strong control,
> Through every turning of the changeful heart
> Directs his course sublime, and leads his powerful art."

The theatre was crowded with an immense and anxious audience, who, after a few scenes, disgusted with the poverty of the play, began to express their dissatisfaction in no equivocal manner. About the beginning of the fourth act, Kemble came forwards, and begged they would hear it through with candour; and it was then allowed to go on; but the proposal to give it for repetition was received with such loud and universal disapprobation, that it was not persevered in. An epilogue, delivered by Mrs. Jordan, spoke not of the piece which had been acted, but called upon the sympathy of the audience in general terms for Shake-

speare, compared the characters of the old drama with those of the present day, and ended with a faint appeal to their indulgence:—

"'Tis true, there is some change, I must confess,
Since Shakespeare's time, at least in point of dress.
The ruffs are gone, and the long female waist
Yields to the Grecian more voluptuous taste;
While circling braids the copious tresses bind,
And the bare neck spreads beautiful behind.
Our senators and peers no longer go,
Like men in armour, glittering in a row;
But for the cloak and pointed beard we note
The close-cropt head and little short great-coat.
Yet is the modern Briton still the same,
Eager to cherish, and averse to blame,
Foe to deception, ready to defend,
A kind protector, and a generous friend."

The result of the performance at Drury Lane sealed the fate of the Shakespeare manuscripts. Those who had stood forward in their defence, became objects of ridicule for their ready credulity, and at the end of the year the public indignation was moved by the effrontery of William Henry Ireland, who published a full confession of the forgery, and joined in the ridicule cast on Dr. Parr, Warton, and others. Samuel Ireland, the father, now came forward, to disavow any complicity in the affair, and declare that he had been a dupe equally with others. The question continued to agitate the public during the whole of the year 1797, and on the 1st of December, Gillray published a portrait of the author of the fraud, under the title of "Notorious Characters,—No. 1," with the following lines, said there to be written by Mason (but on better authority attributed to Steevens), comparing the four great literary forgers

of the age, Lauder, Macpherson, Chatterton, and W. H. Ireland:—

"Four forgers, born in one prolific age,
Much critical acumen did engage.
The first was soon by doughty Douglas scared,
Though Johnson would have screen'd him, had he dared;
The next had all the cunning of a Scot;
The third, invention, genius,—nay, what not?
Fraud, now exhausted, only could dispense
To her fourth son their three-fold impudence."

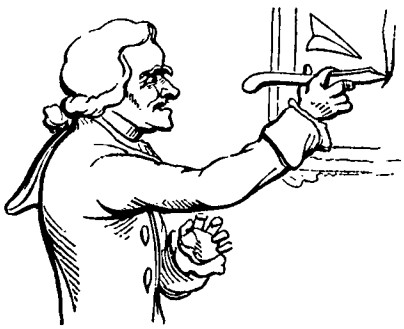
The popularity of Shakespeare had, in another quarter, acted in a very different manner, and produced an influence upon native art which, whatever the jealousy of that age may have said, must ever render the name of Alderman Boydell an object of grateful remembrance to posterity. He had come to London a young man at a time when engraving was at so low an ebb in this country, that all our good prints were imported from abroad, and, first as an engraver, and subsequently as a print-dealer, he laboured with so much success, that at the end of his career the exportation of English engravings far exceeded the number of foreign ones imported. Not content with patronizing engraving, Boydell conceived a plan for patronising native art in painting; and he aspired to raise an English school of historical painters which should rival by its works the celebrity of the ancient masters. Seizing on the popular object of adoration, he employed the first English artists of the age, at high prices, in painting compositions illustrative of the works of the bard of Avon. Sir Joshua Reynolds, as well as West, Barry, Fuseli, Northcote, Opie, Smirk, and all the chief painters of the time, contributed to the celebrated Shakespeare Gallery, which was open for exhibition in 1789, and had for its professed object to establish an

English school of historical painting. Subscribers were at the same time received for a splendid series of engravings illustrative of Shakespeare's plays. Many, however, appear to have been jealous of Boydell's efforts, which they represented as the mere schemes of an avaricious man to gather money into his own private treasury. Gillray entered into this feeling in a truly magnificent caricature, entitled "Shakespeare Sacrificed; or, the Offering to Avarice," published on the 20th of June, 1789. The genius of Avarice, the object of Boydell's adoration, is seated aloft on a ponderous volume, entitled "List of Subscribers to the Sacrifice," which is supported on portfolios of the works of "Modern Masters;" he grasps in his arms two bags of money, and an imp on his shoulder, with peacock's feathers for hair, is blowing the bubble "immortality" with a pipe. Within the magic circle, surrounding the object of his worship, Boydell stands by a fire, into which he is casting the tattered fragments of Shakespeare's works, in the smoke of which, as it rises towards heaven, we see exaggerated sketches of some of the more remarkable designs which his gallery had brought together. Outside the circle, the portfolio of the "Ancient Masters" lies neglected on the ground, and a snail is seen crawling slowly over it. In the distance, Fame is blowing away the great bubbles of former days, while

THE GENIUS OF AVARICE.

he scatters around him a shower of puffs from the *Morning Herald* and other papers, as the only effectual instruments of fame in modern times.

Boydell's opponents, indeed, accused him not only of puffing, but of resorting to all kinds of expedients to call public attention to his gallery. In the spring of 1791, it appears that an evil-minded person had gained admission for the purpose of damaging some of the pictures, and a malicious report was set abroad that Boydell himself was the perpetrator of this act of Vandalism. Gillray, who was no friend to the Shakespeare Gallery, published, on the 26th of April, a caricature portrait of the alderman in the act of mutilating his pictures; and, in allusion to a malefactor of the name of Renwick Williams, whose attacks upon helpless females by cutting them with a knife had a short time previously given him an extraordinary but unenviable notoriety under the epithet of "The Monster," he entitled it "*The Monster broke loose; or,** a Peep into the Shakespeare Gallery."



AN AMATEUR OF THE FINE ARTS.

The accusation it is intended to convey, and the motives supposed to have led to it, will be understood

* The words in italics are crossed through in the engraving, as though to be erased.

by the soliloquy here put into Boydell's mouth:—"There, there!—there 's a nice gash!—There!—ah! this will be a glorious subject for to make a fuss about in the newspapers; a hundred guineas reward will make a fine sound;—there! there!—O, there will be fine talking about the gallery; and it will bring in a rare sight of shillings for seeing of the *cut* pictures; there! and there again!—egad, there 's nothing like having a good head-piece!—here! here!—there! there! —and then these *small* pictures won't cost a great deal of money replacing; indeed one would not like to cut a large one to pieces for the sake of making it look as if people envied us; no! that would cost rather too much, and my pocket begins—but, mum! —that 's nothing to nobody—well, none can blame me for going the cheapest way to work, to keep up the reputation of the Gallery; there! there! there! —there! there!"

In his memorial to the House of Commons, at the beginning of the present century, praying for an act to enable him to dispose of his stock in trade of the fine arts by lottery, Boydell stated that he had expended more than four hundred thousand pounds in encouraging talent in this country. He had become reduced in circumstances, and the Gallery was dispersed by public sale. At a later period he was obliged to appeal to the law to oblige many of his subscribers to continue their subscriptions to his series of Shakespeare illustrations, which they refused to do on account of the length of time that had elapsed before the publication was completed.

With a few exceptions, our historical school of painting at first shewed no great symptoms of talent; it savoured too much of that general mediocrity which

flourished under the equivocal kind of patronage which the third of the Georges had substituted for the scornful contempt shewn to art as well as literature by his two predecessors. West, with his coarse Scriptural pieces, and the foreign Loutherbourg with his gaudy landscapes, basked in the sun of royal favour, while Sir Joshua Reynolds and Wilson were treated with neglect. West was elected president of the newly instituted Royal Academy, and received every kind of mark of royal attention; for the King was rather vain of passing for a connoisseur, and he liked to shew it by his familiarity with the artist. Before Boydell came forward to offer encouragement to art, the academicians had been exposed to the bitter shafts of satire. The "Lyric Odes to the Royal Academicians," drawn forth by the exhibitions of the years 1782, 1783, 1785, and 1786, were the first productions that made known the name of Peter Pindar. The humorous but skilful critic of art, who made his debut under this pseudonyme, shews no mercy to the academic president, the favourite of royalty, whom he accuses of painting the Saviour "like an old-clothes man" and the apostles like thieves, and of aspiring to cover "acres of canvas" rather than aiming at perfection in a few works. Still,—

> "To give the dev'l his due, thou dost inherit
> Some pigmy portion of the painting spirit;
> But what is this, compared to loftier things?—
> Thine is the fortune (making rivals groan)
> Of wink and nod familiar from the throne,
> And sweetest whispers from the best of kings.
>
> "Nods, and winks-royal, since the world began,
> Are immortalities for *little* man."

Peter treats with as little ceremony the favoured portrait-painter Chamberlin, and the royal landscape-painter Loutherbourg,—

"Thy portraits, Chamberlin, may be
A likeness, far as I can see;
But, faith! I cannot praise a single feature:
Yet, when it so shall please the Lord
To make his people out of board,
Thy pictures will be tolerable nature!

"And Loutherbourg, when heav'n so wills
To make brass skies, and golden hills,
With marble bullocks in glass pastures grazing;—
Thy reputation, too, will rise,
And people, gaping with surprise,
Cry, 'Monsieur Loutherbourg is most amazing!'

"But thou must wait for that event—
Perhaps the change is never meant—
Till then, with me thy pencil will not shine—
Till then, old red-nosed Wilson's art
Will hold its empire o'er my heart,
By Britain left in poverty to pine.

"But, honest Wilson, never mind;
Immortal praises thou shalt find,
And for a dinner have no cause to fear.—
Thou start'st at my prophetic rhymes!
Don't be impatient for those times—
Wait till thou hast been dead a hundred year." *

Peter's predictions have been fulfilled sooner than he anticipated, for the works of Wilson are now bought up at high prices, while those of the men who were

* We are informed in a note to this passage, that Wilson, who was certainly a great artist, was desired by his friend, Sir William Chambers, to paint a picture for the King, on which occasion he produced one of his best paintings. Yet, when this picture was shewn to his majesty, it was laughed at, and the King exhibited his knowledge of art in returning it with contempt.

most cried up in his time are thrown aside with contempt. Among the latter was Wright of Derby, an affected painter of moonlight scenes, which the satirist describes as exhibiting

"Woollen hills, where gold and silver moons
Now mount like sixpences, and now balloons;
Where sea-reflections nothing nat'ral tell ye,
So much like fiddle-strings, or vermicelli;
Where ev'rything exclaimeth (how severe!)
'What *are* we?' and 'What business have we here?'"

Reynolds was one of those whose works had no charms for the eyes of royalty, and the satirical critic exclaims, with an air of satisfaction,—

"Thank God! that monarchs cannot taste control,
And make each subject's poor, submissive soul
Admire the work that judgment oft cries fie on:
Had things been so, poor Reynolds we had seen
Painting a barber's pole—an alehouse queen—
The cat-and-gridiron—or the old red lion!
At Plympton, p'rhaps, for some grave Doctor Slop,
Painting the pots and bottles of the shop;
Or in the drama, to get meat to munch,
His brush divine had pictured scenes for Punch!

"Whilst West was whelping, 'midst his paints,
Moses and Aaron, and all sorts of saints!
Adams and Eves, and snakes and apples,
And dev'ls, for beautifying *certain* chapels;—
But Reynolds is no favourite, that 's the matter;
He has not learnt the noble art—to flatter.

"Thrice happy times! when monarchs find them hard things
To teach us *what* to view with admiration;
And, like their heads on halfpence and brass farthings,
Make their opinions current through the nation!"

Public opinion eventually forced Sir Joshua Reynolds to royal attention. Peter Pindar closes his attacks

on the academicians with an expression of rather general censure,—

> "Ye royal sirs, before I bid adieu,
> Let me inform you, *some* deserve my praise;
> But trust me, gentle squires, they are but few
> Whose names would not disgrace my lays.
> You 'll say, with grinning, sharp, sarcastic face,
> 'We must be *bad indeed*, if that 's the case.'
> Why, if the truth I must declare,
> So, gentle squires, you really are."

But a few years passed over from the time Peter Pindar thus pointed out the empty pretensions of so many of the earlier academicians, when a large portion of that eminent body became the dupe of a piece of very remarkable quackery. In the year 1797, a young female pretender to art, a Miss Provis, professed to have discovered the long-lost secret by which Titian and the other great artists of the Venetian school produced their gorgeous colouring, and, by dint of puffing and other tricks, she succeeded in gaining the faith of a large portion of the Royal Academy. Seven of the academicians are said more especially to have been her dupes, Farringdon, Opie, Westall, Hopner, Stothard, Smirk, and Rigaud. Until her discovery was exploded, this lady sold it in great secret for a very high price. She would now probably have been entirely forgotten, but for the pencil of Gillray, who, on the 2nd of November, 1797, made her secret the subject of a very large and remarkable caricature, entitled "*Titianus redivivus;* or, the Seven Wise Men consulting the new Venetian Oracle." In the upper part of this bold picture, the lady artist is dashing off a daring subject with extraordinary effect of light and shade, her long ragged train

ending in the immense tail of a peacock. The three naked Graces behind her, in the genuine coloured copies of this caricature, are painted of the gayest hues. She is leading the crowd of academicians by the nose over the gaudy rainbow to her study to behold her specimen of Venetian art. On one side, the buildings erected for the Royal academy at Somerset House are falling into ruin, while on the other the temple of Fame is undergoing reparation. Below, we are introduced into the interior of the Academy, where the luckless seven occupy the foremost seats, deeply immersed in studying the merits of the new discovery. The ghost of Sir Joshua Reynolds rises up from the floor, contemplates the scene with astonishment, and apostrophises the groups in the words of Shakspeare,—

> "Black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey,
> Mingle, mingle, mingle,—you that mingle may!"

On the opposite side are three persons making a hasty flight; they are West, the president of the Academy, who was not a believer; Boydell, whose fears are excited for the fate of his Gallery, if this new invention should succeed and destroy the value of what had been done while it was unknown; and Macklin, who experiences an equal alarm for his grand illustrations of the Bible, which were put up by lottery, the tickets five guineas each. These fears, as far as the "Venetian secret" was concerned, were not of long duration.

No class of literature was undergoing a greater change during the middle part of the reign of George III. than the periodical press, which was especially affected by the revolutions in political and moral feelings which characterised the age preceding, as well

as that which followed, the bursting out of the French revolution. The newspapers, which had varied but little in appearance from the beginning of the century to the earlier part of George's reign, now appear with new titles, and present themselves in a much enlarged and altered form. From an estimate given in the *European Magazine* for October, 1794, we learn that, while in 1724 only three daily, six weekly, and ten evening papers three times a week, were published in England, in 1792 there were published in London thirteen daily, twenty evening, and nine weekly papers, besides seventy country papers, and fourteen in Scotland. Among these we recognise the names of the principal daily papers of the present day. The *Morning Chronicle* was established in the year 1770, the *Morning Post* in 1772, and the *Morning Herald* in 1780, and they were followed by the *Times* in 1788. They began, in accordance with the depraved taste as well as manners of that age, with courting popularity by detailing largely the most indelicate private scandal, and with coarse libels on public as well as private characters, things for which the *Post* enjoyed a special celebrity. The *Chronicle* was from the first the organ of the Whigs; the *Post* was at first a violent organ of Toryism, it subsequently became revolutionary in its principles, and then returned to its original politics; the *Herald* also has not been uniform in politics from its commencement. Of seven new magazines which were started from 1769 to 1771, the *Town and Country Magazine*, the *Covent Garden Magazine*, the *Matrimonial Magazine*, the *Macaroni Magazine*, the *Sentimental Magazine*, the *Westminster Magazine*, and the *Oxford Magazine*, two at least were obscene publications, and the feeling of the time

allowed the titles of the licentious plates which illustrated them and of the articles they contained to be advertised monthly in the most respectable newspapers in words which left no doubt of their character. The others gave insertion to a mass of scandal that ought to have been offensive to public morality. After a few years society seems to have resented the outrage, the newspapers became less libellous, and the offensive magazines disappeared.

The literary character of the magazines, which may always be taken to a certain degree as an index of public taste, remained long very low. They consisted of extracts from common books and reprints of articles which had appeared before, of crude essays by unpaid correspondents, who were ambitious of seeing themselves in print, and of reviews of new publications, which constituted the most original part of the mixture. The reviews continued for a long time to be short and flippant, and in many cases the writer seems to have read or seen only the title of the book he reviews.

Thus, in the *Westminster Magazine* for May, 1774, Jacob Bryant's well-known "New System of Ancient Mythology," in two large quarto volumes, is reviewed in four words,—"Learned, critical, and ingenious;" and another quarto volume, "Science Improved," by Thomas Harrington, is condemned with similar brevity —"Crude, obscure, and bombastic." In the same magazine for September, 1774, that important work, Strutt's "Regal Antiquities," is dismissed with the observation,—"Curious, useful, and pleasing." The triad of epithets, which recurs perpetually, is amusing. It is an authoritative style of giving judgment that seems to come from the Johnsonian school. Some of the

most remarkable examples are found in the *Town and Country Magazine*, which, in March, 1771, expresses its critical judgment in the following elegant terms:—

"*The Exhibition in Hell; or, Moloch turned Painter.* 8vo. *price* 1s.

A hellish bad painter, and a d—d bad writer!"

A few years later, the critical notices in the magazines became somewhat more diffuse; the reviews endeavoured to give their readers a little more information relating to the contents of new publications; and sometimes, as in the *European Magazine*, they added a chapter at the end, under the title of "Anecdotes of the Author," in which they stated all they knew of his private history. Towards the close of the century, professed reviews, in contradistinction from magazines, began to be more common.

The reviewers of the last century were strongly tainted with the feelings which agitated and divided society, and they constantly overlooked that necessary qualification of a critic,—impartiality; they too often punished the political opinions of the writer by abusing his writings, however far they might be from allusions to political subjects, or however meritorious in character: but they deserve praise for the constancy with which they attacked that shoal of frivolous and often pernicious matter that was daily sent into the world in the shape of novels and secret memoirs, of the most nauseous and indelicate description. The influence of these was most extensive previous to the year 1790. The violent intellectual agitation which followed the French revolution gave a more manly vigour to the literature of the following age. It seemed for a moment to have raised the burthen which had so long weighed heavily upon the

mental energies, and to promise them relief from that cold influence of interested patronage which had so often blighted genius in the bud. The most distinguished literary characters of the last age, the Wordsworths, Campbells, Southeys, Coleridges, and Roscoes, began their career in ardent admiration of the democratic principles which were spreading from revolutionized France: they imagined they had fallen upon the opening of a new and brighter era, and they looked forwards in vain hopes to the prospect of an age in which genius would no longer be the slave of selfish or capricious patronage on the one hand, or of speculative avarice on the other. The illusion soon passed away, but not without leaving an imprint which has effected a total change in the literature of this country.

The change which was taking place at the end of the century, placed the two literatures of the past and the future for a while in direct hostility to each other, and produced a number of satirical writings of a new description, the types of which are found in "The Pursuits of Literature," published anonymously, but now understood to be the work of Mathias, and the "Baviad and Mæviad" of Gifford. These applied the lash unsparingly to the crowd of fashionable writers who constituted the literary legacy of the preceding age. Perhaps, among the different shades of literary pretension which were struggling for fame at the period when the influence of the French revolution began to be felt, the least dignified was that party of individuals who attempted to raise a reputation on the fragments that had been scattered from the table of Johnson. Boswell, and Madame Thrale, who had by a rather discreditable marriage with a music teacher, taken the name of Piozzi, and several others, long dis-

puted over the remains of the "great moralist," as he was termed, and afforded no small amusement to the public. This was one of the few public literary questions which, during the latter part of the century, became the subject of caricatures, and those possess nothing very striking in their character. Two of these, published in 1786 and 1788, were by Sayer. This dispute, which caused much sensation for several years, is much better known by Peter Pindar's "Town Eclogue" of Bozzi and Piozzi.

The ungenial patronage of the court of George III. was as little successful in fostering literature and science, as it had shewn itself to be with respect to art. It was during this reign that societies began to be formed in any number to forward literary and scientific objects, and they in some instances seemed to share in the jealousy that was shewn towards political associations. The society of antiquaries, which had received its charter of incorporation from George II., was received into some degree of favour by his grandson, who, in 1780, placed it in apartments near his favourite "Academy" in Somerset House. Its labours had hitherto been little productive, and often puerile; it took no prominent part, even in the historical literature of the day, and is seldom mentioned in the popular literature, except in terms of ridicule. In 1772, the society was brought on the stage by Foote, deliberating on the history of Whittington and his cat. It appears that the honour shewn to it by royalty, did not protect it from becoming a dupe to practical jokes. In 1790, some wag produced a drawing of a stone pretended to have been discovered in Kennington Lane, on the site of an ancient palace of Hardicnut, bearing an inscription to that monarch's memory in Saxon

characters and in Anglo-Saxon verse, which, literally translated, informed the world that "Here Hardyknute the king drank a wine-horn dry, and stared about him and died." It is said that this inscription and explanation were received and read at one of the meetings of the society of antiquaries as a *bonâ fide* communication, and the perpetrator of the joke immediately made it public for the amusement of the world, and to the discomfiture of the learned archæologists. This trifling incident made its noise at the time, and was taken up in a satirical vein by other humorists, who followed it up with mock dissertations and mock translations. Some of the latter exhibited the same vein of personal satire which had dictated the longer and more celebrated "probationary odes." Thus Sir Cecil Wray is made to contribute the following poetical version—

"Here Hardyknute, with horn of wine,
Drank, died, and stared much;
And at my lost elec—ti—on
Too many there were such."

Another parliamentary and ministerial rhymer, Sir Joseph Mawbey, was also introduced making a personal application of the theme,

"Here Hardyknute his *wash* (O brute!)
Did *swill* from Danish horn;
So bursting wide his *harslet*, died,
And of his life was shorn.

"As *pig* doth look, that 's newly stuck,
And stare, so stared he;—
And so, at my next canvass, I
May stare for company."

Among other versions, the joking editor cites the first line of that by M. le Texier, who he says, had,

"with the levity peculiar to his countrymen," given a gay turn to the epitaph, which he made to open thus—

"Aha! cher Monsieur Ardiknute!"

And he adds, "The last has the same defect as the two preceding ones, for it is rather a sportive paraphrase than a fair translation. As it comes, however, from a young poetical divine, resident in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth (the very place of Hardyknute's demise), it will possibly be received with indulgence, and especially by the gentleman who produced its original to the antiquary society.

"If Hardyknute, at Lambeth feast,
Where *each man* made himself a beast,
On such a draught did venture;
Though drink he did, and stare, and die,
'Tis clear to every mortal eye
That he was no dissenter."

However respectable their character as societies, and however talented and well-intentioned some of their members, it must be acknowledged that neither archæology nor science were at this time receiving the benefits they might have done from the labours of the society of Antiquaries and its neighbour the Royal Society. The latter was rent to pieces by jealousies and disputes. It had received a gleam from the sun of royal favour in the person of its president, Sir Joseph Banks, who had pursued science in company with Captain Cook in the distant isles of the Pacific, and whose adventures in the study of natural history at home and the undue eminence which he was believed to hold by the mere title of royal favouritism, made him the object of many a caricature and satire. In one of the latter, in the collection of Mr. Burke,

the learned president of the royal society is represented under the character and title of "The great South-sea Catterpillar transformed into a Bath butterfly." His wings are adorned with figures of starfish, crabs, and other favourite objects of his attention. This print is dated on the 4th of July, 1795, soon after Sir Joseph had been chosen a knight of the Bath. Another caricature, also in the possession of Mr. Burke, represents the scene described in Peter Pindar's well-known tale of "Sir Joseph Banks and the Emperor of Morocco." The "president in butterflies profound," as he has termed him, was a subject of frequent satire from Peter's pen.

THE BUTTERFLY OF SCIENCE.

CHAPTER XV.

GEORGE III.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.—CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.—NEW STEP IN BUONAPARTE'S AMBITION.—RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES, AND THREATENED INVASION.—DEFENSIVE AGITATION; VOLUNTEERS; CARICATURES AND SONGS.—RETURN OF PITT TO POWER.—BUONAPARTE EMPEROR.—TRAFALGAR.—DEATH OF PITT.—THE BROAD-BOTTOM MINISTRY.—DEATH OF FOX.—GENERAL ELECTION.—THE WAR.

THE nineteenth century opened in this country with political prospects by no means of the most cheering description. With a burthen of taxation infinitely beyond anything that had ever been known before, England found herself in danger of being left single-handed in an interminable contest with a power which was now rapidly humbling at its feet the whole of the continent of Europe, and which had already adopted, with regard to us, the old motto of *delenda est Carthago*. We had no longer to contend with a democratic republic, as heretofore, but with a skilful and unscrupulous leader, who was already a sovereign in fact, and who was marching quickly towards a throne. The union with Ireland had been completed, and was put into effect; but the sister isle remained dissatisfied and turbulent, and but a few months passed over before a new rebellion broke out, of a serious character. The union itself had not passed without considerable opposition in this country, and the advantages which its advocates promised as the result, were

ridiculed or disbelieved. Among the caricatures on this subject which appeared during the year 1800, one represented Pitt from the state pulpit publishing the banns of union between John Bull and Miss Hibernia. In another, under the title of "A Flight across the Herring-pool," the Irish gentry are seen quitting their country in crowds to share in the good things which Pitt is laying before them in England, thus setting the example of that evil of absenteeism which has been so much complained of in more recent times.

The first imperial parliament met on the 22nd of January, 1801, and was attended with two remarkable circumstances, the election of the Rev. John Horne Tooke for the borough of Old Sarum, and the re-appearance of Fox at his post in the House of Commons. Fox reappeared in the house for the first time on the 2nd of March, and one of the earliest signs of his returning activity was his support of the right of Horne Tooke to a seat there. A caricature, published on the 14th of March, entitled "The Westminster Seceder on Fresh Duty," represents Fox bending his broad back to enable the reverend candidate to get into St. Stephen's chapel through the window, while Lord Temple is shutting the door against him. Tooke had been returned for Old Sarum by Lord Camelford. His admission was opposed on the ground of his clerical profession, and it led to a bill making clergymen incapable of sitting in parliament. Tooke held his seat for a very brief period, during which he did no act of importance. A caricature, by Gillray, published on the 15th of March, under the title of "Political Amusements for Young Gentlemen; or, the old Brentford Shuttlecock," represents the head of Tooke formed into a plaything, the feathers of which intimate suffi-

ciently his character, tossed backwards and forwards between Lord Camelford, to whom he owed his election, and Lord Temple, who led the opposition to his admission.

A SHUTTLECOCK.

Before this question came under discussion, Pitt had quitted the ministry. Having, in his anxiety to procure the support of the Catholic body in Ireland for his grand project of union, made an implied promise to support the cause of Catholic emancipation, and finding the King obstinately opposed to it, he seized upon this as the occasion for retiring from office. The opposition ascribed to him different motives: they said that, alarmed at the difficulties into which he had plunged the country, he wished to withdraw from personal responsibility, and they prophesied that he would continue to be, in fact, as much minister as before. This seems to receive some confirmation from the fact that Henry Addington, the son of Dr. Addington, one of the physicians who had attended on the King in his derangement, and the special *protégé* of the Pitt family, was nominated for his successor. A caricature, published on the 20th of February, under the title of "The Family Party," represents Pitt, Dundas, Grenville, and Canning, seated round the card-table; Pitt gives his hand to Addington, saying, "Here, play my cards, Henry; I want to retire a little;" and the other players join him in the wish to remain a while behind the screen.

An unexpected event added to the embarrassments of this situation of public affairs. The King, in con-

sequence of the agitation and uneasiness caused by Pitt's resignation, was suddenly attacked with his old malady, in the midst of the negotiations for a new ministry, and he remained in an uncertain state of health during three weeks. Although the public were kept in ignorance of the exact state of the King's health as long as possible, enough was known to create general uneasiness; and it was this, probably, which drew Fox to town, and restored him to the House of Commons, for it was still believed that the formation of a regency would be, under any circumstances, attended by the dismissal of the present ministry, to make place for one under Fox.

In the middle of March, immediately after the King's recovery, the new ministry was publicly announced; Addington was first lord of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Portland remained president of the Council; Lord Eldon was made Chancellor; Lord Pelham, Home Secretary; Lord Hawkesbury, secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Lord Hobart, secretary for the Colonies; the Hon. Charles Yorke, secretary at War; Lord Chatham, master of the Ordnance; and Lord Lewisham president of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India. Gillray, who, on the 24th of February, had represented Pitt and his colleagues marching out of the Treasury with conscious honesty on their features, while the Whigs were with difficulty hindered from rushing in to seize upon their places,* now (on the 28th of May), made a humorous comparison between the old ministers and their successors, in a caricature, entitled

* The caricature alluded to is entitled "Integrity retiring from office."

"Lilliputian substitutes;" a title which was not ill bestowed on the latter, for they were men of so little influence in politics, that it was evident from the first they could only retain office by indulgence. Lord Loughborough's vast wig appears to hide entirely from view its new wearer. Next to it stands on the treasury bench "Mr. Pitt's jack-boot," in which Addington is plunged to the chin, yet he imagines that it, and the rest of Pitt's clothes, are made exactly to fit him—"Well, to be sure, these here clothes do fit me to an inch!—and now that I've got upon this bench, I think I may pass muster for a fine tall fellow, and do as well for a corporal as my old master Billy himself." Lord Hawkesbury, who had talked of marching to Paris, has his spare form enveloped in Lord Grenville's capacious breeches—"Mercy upon me! what a deficiency is here!—ah, poor Hawkie! what will be the consequence, if these d—d breeches should fall off in the march to Paris, and then should I be found out a sans-culotte!" Lord Hobart, a portly individual, is flourishing and swaggering with "Mr. Dundas's broad sword!" Another individual, with no less plumpness in his proportions, is quarrelling with "Mr. Canning's old slippers,"—"Ah! d—n his narrow pumps! I shall never be able to bear them long on

A NEW MINISTER IN AN OLD BOOT.

my corns!—zounds! are these shoes fit for a man in present pay free quarters?"

LARGE SHOES FOR LITTLE PEOPLE.

At the beginning of the year, England had been again threatened with French invasion; but Addington's administration set out as a peace ministry, and it proceeded so resolutely in this course, that on the 1st of October, preliminaries had been agreed to and were signed, and Lord Cornwallis was soon afterwards sent over as minister plenipotentiary. Buonaparte himself was evidently desirous of a cessation of hostilities that he might be left for a while to pursue his ambitious designs at home. After many crosses and difficulties, and sufficient evidence of bad faith on the part of the French government, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802.

There was still a strong war-party in England, and many with keen foresight looked at it as an unnecessary sacrifice of our own dignity, rendered futile by the certainty that no peace could be of long duration with the then ruler of France, unless purchased with an unconditional submission to his will. The opposition

was strong in parliament, and when the terms of peace were known, there was a loud complaint at the yielding up of so many of our recent conquests, while France was allowed to keep her overwhelming influence on the continent. The peace was, however, lauded by Fox and the Whigs, and approved by Pitt. On the 6th of October, Gillray published a caricature, entitled "Preliminaries of peace; or, John Bull and his little friend marching to Paris." The little friend is Lord Hawkesbury, who is leading the way across the channel, over a rotten and broken plank; John Bull, accompanied by Fox and all the approvers of the negotiations, allows himself to be led by the nose, while Britannia's shield and a number of valuable conquests are thrown into the water as useless. On the 9th of November appeared another caricature by Gillray, entitled "Political dreamings; visions of peace!—perspective horrors!" Windham had described in strong language the evils which the peace would draw down upon this country, and, as embodied in this picture, they are certainly fearful. The preliminaries are endorsed as "Britannia's death-warrant;" and she herself is seen in the clouds dragged

BRITANNIA VICTIMISED.

off to the guillotine for execution by the Corsican depredator. Visions of headless bodies crowd around.

Lord Hawkesbury's hand, as he signs the peace, is guided by Pitt. On one side justice has received a strong dose of physic. On another, we see St. Paul's in flames. And here the long gaunt form of death treading in stilts (two spears) on the roast beef and other good things of old England. At the foot of Windham's bed, Fox, as an imp of darkness, gives the serenade.

AN OMINOUS SERENADER.

At first the new administration went on smoothly; it escaped attack, in the eagerness of the old Whig opposition to attack its predecessors. They imagined that Pitt and his colleagues had been overthrown by the weight of their own iniquities, and they talked of visiting them with parliamentary censure, and even with impeachment. The leader in the projected attack was to be Sir Francis Burdett, and great threats were held out, which, however, had no serious result. A caricature by Gillray, entitled "Preparing for the grand attack," published on the 4th of December, 1801, represents Burdett rehearsing for his speech against ministers; Sheridan is instructing him in eloquence; Fox draws up the accusations; and Horne Tooke acts as scribe.

The year 1802, produced few subjects of domestic excitement. The repeal of the income tax gave universal satisfaction; and people in general believed in the efficacy of Pitt's grand project of the sinking fund to relieve them from much of the burthen of the public debt. Some of the caricaturists ridiculed the po-

pular credulity on this point. The mania for balloons had been revived, after the reconciliation with France, where they still remained fashionable, and were more caricatured than in England; and in a caricature, entitled "The national parachute; or, John Bull conducted to plenty and emancipation," published on the 10th of July, Pitt is represented supporting John Bull in the air in a parachute, entitled "The sinking fund." While the new peace occupied everybody's attention, the parliament was allowed, without much opposition, to vote a million sterling to pay off debts contracted on the civil list. On the other side, republicanism still appeared to have some advocates, and the close of the year witnessed the discovery of the mad conspiracy of Col. Despard and his companions, who were executed early in 1803. A new parliament had been elected in autumn, in which Westminster was again contested with obstinacy. In France, on the 6th of August, 1802, Buonaparte advanced another step in his course of ambition, by obtaining the appointment of consul for life: it was but another name for a crown.

Peace was at first hailed with joy throughout the country. It produced, within a few weeks, illuminations, feasts, congratulatory addresses, sermons, poems, in great profusion. Englishmen went to visit Paris in hundreds and thousands, and this country was inundated with French fashions and inventions. Among the English visitors to France was Charles James Fox, who went to pay his respects to the future emperor, in company with his nephew, Lord Holland, and with Erskine, Grey, and some other members of the opposition in parliament. They were treated with marked attention by Buonaparte; and their admiration was

carried to a degree of indiscretion which did not increase their popularity in England, where they were accused of obsequious flattery to the oppressor of Europe. On the 15th of November, Gillray published a caricature entitled, "Introduction of citizen Volpone and his suite at Paris," in which Fox and his wife, Lord and Lady Holland, and Grey, are stooping low to the new ruler of France. A few days before (on the 8th of November) an anonymous caricature on the same subject had appeared under the title of "English patriots bowing at the shrine of despotism." Gillray published, on the 4th of December, a caricature, entitled "The nursery, with Britannia reposing in peace;" in which Britannia is represented as an overgrown baby, reposing in her cradle, and nursed in French principles by Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, and Fox. It was at this moment that Lord Whitworth was sent over as our ambassador to the French government, amid general doubts of the good faith of the latter, and dissatisfaction at Buonaparte's conduct. This dissatisfaction was most strongly expressed in the English newspapers, which is said to have given so much offence to the first consul, that he forbade their circulation in France.

Still, although the general dissatisfaction in England was increasing, the peace continued popular till the end of the year. On the 1st of January, 1803, Gillray satirized the posture of affairs in a humorous caricature, entitled "The first kiss this ten years; or, the meeting of Britannia and citizen François." Britannia, who has suddenly become corpulent, appears as a fine lady in full dress, her shield and spear leaning neglected against the wall. The citizen expresses his joy at the meeting in warm terms—"Madame,

permittez me to pay my profound esteem to your engaging person; and to seal on your divine lips my everlasting attachment!!!" The lady, blushing deeply

THE FIRST KISS THESE TEN YEARS.

at the salute (in the coloured copies a strong tint of red is bestowed on her cheek), replies,—"Monsieur, you are truly a well-bred gentleman!—and though you make me blush, yet you kiss so delicately that I cannot refuse you, though I was sure you would deceive me again!" On the wall, just behind these two figures, are framed profiles of King George and Buonaparte scowling on each other. This caricature enjoyed an unusual degree of popularity; many copies were sent to France, and Buonaparte himself is said to have been highly amused by it.

From this time, however, the communications between the two countries began to take a much less pacific character, and it was more and more evident that the peace could not be of long duration. The French consul was anxious to obtain possession of Malta, and while he accused England of breaking the faith of treaties, he acted in everything contrary to the spirit of the treaty which he had so recently con-

cluded with her. He required that we should drive the royalist emigrants from our shores, demanded that the English press, which he looked upon as one of his most dangerous enemies, should be deprived of its liberty as far as regarded French affairs, and he actually asked for modifications in our constitution. At the same time he was actively employed in exciting a rebellion in Ireland, and distributing agents, under the character of consuls, along our coasts, with treacherous objects, which were accidentally discovered by the seizure of the secret instructions to the consul at Dublin, which contained, among other matters of the same character, the following passages:—"You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your district, with a specification of the soundings for mooring vessels. If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of water with which vessels can enter the river deeply laden." There began to appear other indications equally distinct of ulterior designs against this country, which it was of the utmost importance to anticipate. Even Fox and his party, while they advocated peace as long as it could be maintained, acknowledged that there was room for suspicion. A patriotic indignation was raised throughout the country in the March of 1803, by the publication of an official document, signed by the first consul, in which he declared that "England alone cannot now encounter France." It was now universally believed that Buonaparte only delayed open hostilities as long as he could gain anything from us by pretended negotiations, and that he was preparing to crush us by the magnitude of his attack. It was the misfortune of this country to have at

such a moment an administration remarkable for its incapacity. Pitt is said to have made a secret attempt to return to power; but Addington began to love the sweets of office, and was not inclined to quit, and his submissive pliancy to the crown had gained him the King's favour. The Foxites were afraid that if they entered into opposition they would only throw the Doctor, as they all styled him contemptuously, into the arms of Pitt; and Buonaparte declared publicly that if Pitt returned to power, France would lose all hopes of obtaining further concessions from England. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 9th of February, is entitled the "Evacuation of Malta." The French ruler is forcing Addington to evacuate one conquest after another, until he cries out, "Pray do not insist upon Malta! I shall certainly be turned out, and I have got a great many cousins, and uncles, and aunts to provide for yet." A French officer who is receiving what the minister gives up, expostulates with his commands, "My general, you had better not get him turned out, for we shall not be able to humbug them any more."

The statement officially made by the French government, that England was not able to contend with France single-handed, produced a violent outburst of indignation in the House of Lords on the 9th of March. The day before a royal message had been laid before both Houses, stating that the King had received positive information that very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, and that he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. At the same time proclamations were issued encouraging the enlisting of

seamen and landsmen, calling up the militia and volunteers, and ordering the formation of encampments in the maritime counties. The volunteer associations, which had been formed two years before in anticipation of invasion, also began to reassemble. On the debate upon the King's message, Fox seemed to think the apprehensions were premature, and advised caution; Windham, who had violently opposed the peace, now said that it had placed us in a position of weakness towards France, which had rendered us less able to defend ourselves than we should have been had the war continued; but the most patriotic of all patriotic speeches made in the House of Commons, was that of Sheridan. He accused Windham of entertaining the same sentiments on the weakness of this country which had been expressed by Buonaparte, "Whatever sentiments both of them may entertain," he said, "with respect to the incapability of the country, I hope and trust, if unhappily war be unavoidable, that we shall convince that right honourable gentleman, and the first consul of France, that we have not incapacitated ourselves by making peace, to renew the war with as much promptitude, vigour, and perseverance, as we have already evinced. I trust, sir, we shall succeed in convincing them, that we are able to enter single-handed into war, notwithstanding the despondency of the right honourable gentleman, and the confident assertion of the first consul of France. . . . . By the exertions of a loyal, united, and patriotic people, we can look with perfect confidence to the issue; and we are justified in entertaining a well-founded hope, that we shall be able to convince not only the right honourable member and the first consul of France, but all Europe, of our capability, even single-

handed, to meet and triumph over the dangers, however great and imminent, which threaten us from the renewal of hostilities."

This debate was made the subject of a clever caricature by Gillray, published on the 14th of March, under the title of "Physical aid; or, Britannia recovered from a trance; also the patriotic courage of Sherry Andrew, and a peep through the fog." The "peep" exhibits in the distance Buonaparte leading on the French boats, which are to carry over the army of invasion. Britannia, waking suddenly from her trance of security, is struck with the imminence of the danger, and implores assistance in a parody of the words of Shakespeare, "Angels and ministers of *dis*-grace defend me!" Her shield is cracked and her spear blunted. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury stand by her, giving encouragement; the former applies a bottle of gunpowder to her nose to revive her. Sheridan wields the club, inscribed, "Dramatic loyalty," in threatening attitude against the invaders, and blusters out his menace, "Let 'em come, damme!—damme!!—where are the French buggabos?—Single-handed I'd beat forty of 'em!! damme, I'll pay 'em like renter shares, sconce off their half crowns, mulct them out of their benefits, and come the Drury Lane slang over 'em!" A crowd of people are excited in different ways. Fox, half concealing his face in his

A THEATRICAL HERO.

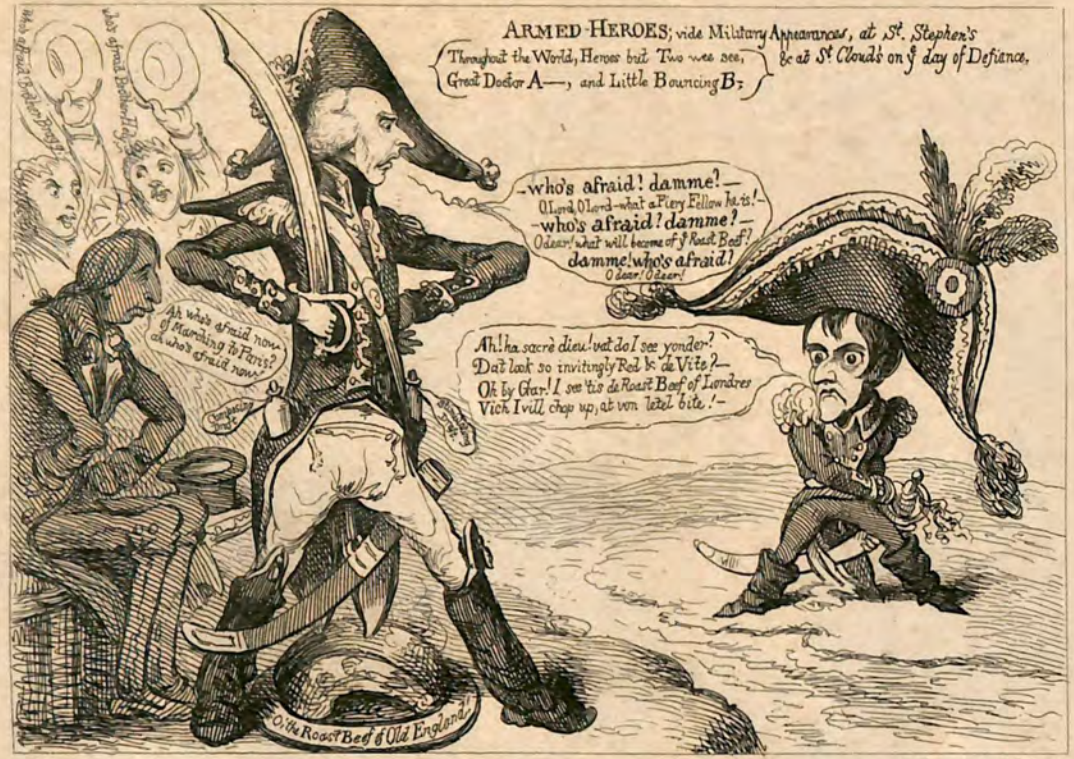
hat, cannot see the buggabos, and wonders "why the old lady has woke in such a fright."

The negotiations were still persevered in, although it was daily more evident that they would fail to avert hostilities. Even as late as the 2nd of May, caricatures appeared ridiculing John Bull's submission to the continued demands made upon his forbearance. The date just mentioned is that of a caricature by Gillray entitled, "Doctor Sangrado curing John Bull of repletion." Lord Hawkesbury is holding up John Bull, sick and emaciated, while Addington performs the operation; the blood that issues from the incision

JOHN BULL IN BAD HANDS.

is inscribed with the names of Malta and the other conquests that were to be restored, which Buonaparte is receiving in his hat; Fox and Sheridan are bringing warm water; and they all exhort the patient to have courage.

It was but a few days after this that our ambassador, who had been personally insulted by Buonaparte, and who had long perceived that the latter had carried on the negotiations merely for the sake of gaining time, received final orders to leave Paris, and the French ambassador, Andréossi, was ordered to quit England. The declaration of war was received



J. Gillray del. F.W. Fairholt, F.S.A. sc.

ARMED HEROES.

London. Richard. Bentley. 1848

throughout England with enthusiastic joy;—the falsehoods and prevarications which Buonaparte had made use of throughout the negotiations, which now exposed his true character to the world; the infamous manner in which he had treated the countries that had fallen under his power; and the reckless contempt of the laws of nations with which he seized as prisoners of war the crowds of English visitors whom his peaceful declarations had allured into France; all made the ruler of France an object of such abhorrence and hatred that war seemed to every one preferable to peace, and the ministers were only rendering themselves unpopular by continuing the friendly relations between the two countries so long. Gillray has perpetuated the memory of this feeling in a clever caricature, published on the 18th of May, entitled "Armed Heroes." "Addington,"* the "doctor," is represented in a ridiculous dilemma, between assumed courage and real fears, anxious to preserve the roast beef threatened by the Corsican usurper. Lord Hawkesbury, seated behind him with an equally passive appearance of courage, calls to mind his old threat of marching to Paris.

Buonaparte commenced hostilities by seizing upon Hanover, and raising a rebellion in Ireland. The former was an inevitable evil; and the latter was soon subdued. But the immense preparations for invasion were a cause of more serious alarm, and called forth a unity of patriotic exertions such as had never been seen before. The volunteers, raised in the course of the summer and autumn, who were well armed and soon well trained, amounted to not less than three hundred thousand. Meanwhile France seemed for

* A copy of this caricature is given in the accompanying plate.

once earnest in her threats, and she was marching to the opposite coast her best troops in fearful masses. Buonaparte came in person to overlook the preparations, and to take the command of the invading forces when they were completed. He established his head-quarters at Boulogne, on the roads to which finger-posts were erected to remind all Frenchmen that it was the way to London. Every possible means was resorted to for exciting the people against the English, and attracting them to his standard. The soldiers were promised indiscriminate plunder, and they were reminded that the English women were the most beautiful in the world, and that no restriction should be placed on the gratification of their passions. Inflammatory addresses from the cities and towns to the first consul were followed by equally inflammatory answers. Atrocious falsehoods were published and placarded over the country to raise the national exasperation to the greatest height.

Equally efficacious means were resorted to in England to raise up an enthusiastic spirit of hatred of France and its ruler. People exerted themselves individually, as well as in associations, in printing and distributing what were known as "loyal papers" and "loyal tracts," which were bought up in immense numbers, and the proceeds often applied to the defence of the country. Some of these consisted of exaggerated and libellous biographies of Buonaparte and his family; accounts of the atrocities perpetrated by himself and his armies in the countries they had overrun; burlesques, in which he was treated with ridicule and contempt; parodies on his bulletins and proclamations; and accounts of his preparations for the invasion and conquest of England. Others

contained words of encouragement; exhortations to bravery; directions for acting and disciplining; promise of reward; narratives of British bravery in former times; everything, in fact, that could stir up and support the national spirit. Every kind of wit and humour was brought into play to enliven these sallies of patriotism; sometimes they came forth in the shape of national playbills, such as the following:—

"THEATRE ROYAL, ENGLAND.

"In Rehearsal, and meant to be speedily *attempted*, a farce in one act called THE INVASION OF ENGLAND. Principal Buffo, Mr. Buonaparte, being his first (and most likely his last) appearance on this stage.

"*Anticipated Critique.* The structure of this Farce is very *loose*, and there is a *moral* and radical defect in the ground-work. It boasts however considerable novelty, for the characters are *all mad*. It is probable that it will *not* be played in the *country*, but will certainly never be *acted* in *town*; wherever it may be represented, we will do it the justice to say, it will be received with *thunders* of—CANNON!!! but we will venture to affirm will never equal the success of JOHN BULL. It is, however, likely that the piece may yet be put off on account of the *indisposition* of the principal performer, Mr. Buonaparte. We don't know exactly what this gentleman's merits may be on the tragic boards of France, but he will never succeed here; his figure is very diminutive, he struts a great deal, seems to have no conception of his *character*, and treads the stage very badly; notwithstanding which defects, we think if he comes here, he will get an *engagement*, though it is probable that he will shortly after be reduced to the situation of a *scene-shifter*.

"As for the Farce, we recommend it to be withdrawn, as it is the opinion of all good political critics, that if play'd it will certainly be *damned*.

"*Vivant rex et regina.*"

Sometimes they were coarse and laughable dialogues between the Corsican and John Bull, or some other worthy, who gave him small encouragement to persevere in his undertaking. Then we had laughable

proclamations to his own soldiers, or to those he was threatening with invasion. Now the invader was compared to a wild beast, or some object of curiosity, for a promised exhibition. Such bills as the following were common :—

"*Most wonderful wonder of wonders ! !*

"Just arrived, at Mr. Bull's Menagerie, in British Lane, the most renowned and sagacious *man tiger,* or *ourang outang,* called Napoleon Buonaparte. He has been exhibited through the greatest part of Europe, particularly in *Holland, Switzerland,* and *Italy,* and lately in *Egypt.* He has a wonderful faculty of speech, and undertakes to reason with the most learned doctors in law, divinity, and physic. He proves incontrovertibly that the strongest poisons are the most sovereign remedies for wounds of all kinds; and by a dose or two, made up in his own way, he cures his patients of all their ills by the gross. He *picks* the *pockets* of the company, and by a *rope* suspended near a *lantern,* shews them, as clear as day, that they are all richer than before. If any man in the room has empty pockets, or an empty stomach, by taking a dose or two of his *powder* of *hemp,* he finds them on a sudden full of guineas, and has no longer a craving for food: if he is rich, he gets rid of his *tœdium vitæ ;* and if he is over-gorged, finds a perfect cure for his indigestion. He proves, by unanswerable arguments, that *soupe maigre* and *frogs* are a much more wholesome food than *beef* and *pudding,* and that it would be better for *Old England* if her inhabitants were all *monkeys* and *tigers,* as, in times of scarcity, one half of the nation might devour the other half. He strips the company of their clothes, and, when they are stark naked, presents a *paper* on the *point* of a *bayonet,* by reading which they are all perfectly convinced that it is very pleasant to be in a state of nature. By a kind of hocus-pocus trick, he breathes on a *crown,* and it changes suddenly into a guillotine. He deceives the eye most dexterously ; one moment he is in the garb of the *Mufti ;* the next of a *Jew ;* and the next moment you see him the *Pope.* He imitates all sounds ; bleats like a lamb ; roars like a tiger ; cries like a crocodile ; and brays most inimitably like an ass.

"Mr. Bull does not choose to exhibit his *monkey's* tricks in the puffing way, so inimitably played off at most foreign courts; as, in trying lately to puff himself up to the size of a *bull,* his monkey got a sprain, by which he was very near losing him.

"He used also to perform some wonderful tricks with *gunpowder;* but his monkey was very sick in passing the channel, and has shewn a great aversion to them ever since.

"Admittance, one shilling and sixpence.

"N.B.—If any gentleman of the corps diplomatique should wish to see his ourang outang, Mr. Bull begs a line or two first; as, on such occasions, he finds it necessary to bleed him, or give him a dose or two of cooling physic, being apt to fly at them if they appear without such preparation."

In other papers, the conqueror of the greater part of Europe was ridiculed as a mere pigmy, when compared to King George and his valiant Britons:—

"Come, I 'll sing you a song, just for want of some other,
About a *small* thing, that has made a *great* pother;
A mere *insect*, a *pigmy*,—I 'll tell you, my hearty,
'Tis the Corsican *hop-o'-my-thumb* Buonaparte.
Derry down, &c.

"This *Lilliput* monster, with *Brobdignag* rage,
Hath ventured with Britons in war to engage;
Our greatness he envies, and envy he must,
If the *frog* apes the *ox*, he must swell till he burst.
Derry down," &c.

It was in this spirit that Gillray, on the 26th of June, represented King George as the king of

THE KING OF BROBDIGNAG AND GULLIVER.

Brobdignag, eying his diminutive assailant with con-

tempt. Other caricatures represented the blustering invader in the same character. In a fine engraving by Gillray, bearing the same title as the one just mentioned, "The King of Brobdignag and Gulliver," the diminutive boaster is seen attempting to manœuvre his small boat in a basin of water, to the great amusement of King George and his court.

Songs innumerable, of encouragement and defiance, were distributed about the country in the same form of loyal broadsides, as well as in tracts and collections.* Of many of these, the following will furnish a good example :—

"SONG ON THE THREATENED INVASION.

"Arm, neighbours, at length,
And put forth your strength,
Perfidious bold France to resist;
Ten Frenchmen will fly
To shun a black eye,
If one Englishman doubles his fist.

"But if they feel stout,
Why, let them turn out,
With their maws stuff'd with frogs, soup, and jellies;
Brave Nelson's sea thunder
Shall strike them with wonder,
And make the frogs leap in their bellies.

"Their impudent boast
Of invading our coast,
Neptune swears they had better decline;
For the rogues may be sure,
That their frenzy we 'll cure,
And we 'll pickle them all in his brine.

* These loyal papers were almost the only broadsides for which purchasers could be found, and it is not improbable that this first gave the blow to the old English popular ballad literature, which had hitherto kept its ground almost undiminished.

"And when they 've been soak'd
Long enough to be smok'd,
To the regions below they 'll be taken;
And there hung up to dry,
Fit to boil or to fry,
When Old Nick wants a rasher of bacon."

The following song was sung in the theatres, and drew the most enthusiastic shouts of satisfaction:—

"THE ISLAND.

"If the French have a notion
Of crossing the ocean,
Their luck to be trying on dry land;
They may come if they like,
But we 'll soon make 'em strike
To the lads of the tight little Island.
Huzza for the boys of the Island!—
The brave volunteers of the Island!
The fraternal embrace
If foes want in this place,
We 'll present all the *arms* in the Island.

"They say we keep shops
To vend broad-cloth and slops,
And of merchants they call us a sly land;
But though war is their trade,
What Briton 's afraid
To say he 'll ne'er sell 'em the Island,
They 'll pay pretty dear for the Island!
If fighting they want in the Island,
We 'll shew 'em a sample,
Shall make an example
Of all who dare bid for the Island.

"If met they should be
By the Boys of the Sea,
I warrant they 'll never come nigh land;
If they do, those on land
Will soon lend 'em a hand
To foot it again from the Island!

Huzza! for the king of the Island!
Shall our father be robbed of his Island?
While his children can fight,
They 'll stand up for his right,
And their own, to the tight little Island."

In these papers, as well as in the caricatures, it was confidently prophesied that, if the enemy should escape our ships at sea, it would only be to meet certain destruction on landing. Gillray published several caricatures during the months of June and July, setting forth the consequences of the landing of Buonaparte. In one, our brave volunteers are driving him and his army into the sea. In another, entitled "Buonaparte forty-eight hours after landing," John Bull is represented bearing the bleeding head of the invader in triumph on his pike. In a third, the King, in his hunting garb, is holding up the Corsican fox, which he has hunted down with his good hounds, Nelson, Vincent, &c.

It was our fleets, indeed, that offered our best guarantee against the vengeance of France, for as long as our ships swept the Channel, and insulted the French coasts, destroying towns and shipping with impunity, there was little chance that our enemies would be able to put their threats in execution. They stood there manœuvring, and blustering, and threatening, while Jack Tar was waiting very impatiently for their coming out.

"They 've fram'd a plan
(That 's if they can)
To chain us two and two, sirs;
And Gallia's cock,
From Cherbourg rock,
Keeps crying Doodle doo, sir."

However, with the distinguished courage so much

boasted of in the proclamations and bulletins of their leader, it was said that they waited for the first fog, that they might slip over unseen.

"It seems in a fog these great heroes confide,
When unseen, o'er the sea they think safely to ride;
For taught by our sailors, they know to their shame,
With Britons to see and to conquer's the same."

Jack Tar's impatience was set forth in a caricature by Gillray, published on the 2nd of August, in which John Bull is represented as taking to the sea in person, to chant the serenade of defiance. The head of Buonaparte is just seen over the battlement, uttering

JOHN BULL OFFERING LITTLE BONEY FAIR PLAY.

the threat which he had now been repeating several weeks: "I'm a coming!—I'm a coming!" His boats are safely stowed up under the triple fort in which he has ensconsed himself for personal security, and John Bull taunts him with some ill humour:—

"You're a coming?—
If you mean to invade us, why make such a rout?
I say, little Boney,—why don't you come out?
Yes, d— you, why don't you come out?"

One of the songs distributed in the "loyal papers," which seems to have been a very popular one, furnishes us with—

BUONAPARTE'S ANSWER TO JOHN BULL'S CARD.

"My dear Johnny Bull, the last mail
Brought over your kind invitation,
And strongly it tempts us to sail
In our boats to your flourishing nation.
But Prudence she whispers 'Beware,
Don't you see that his fleets are in motion?
He'll play you some d—d *ruse de guerre*,
If he catches you out on the ocean.'
Our fears they mount up, up, up,
Our hopes they sink down-y, down-y,
Our hearts they beat backwards and forwards,
Our heads they turn round-y, round-y.

"You say that pot-luck shall be mine:
Je n'entend pas ces mots, Monsieur Bull;
But I think I can guess your design,
When you talk of a good belly-full.
I have promis'd my men, with rich food
Their courage and faith to reward;
I tell them your puddings are good,
Though your dumplings are rather too hard.
O my Johnny, my Johnny,
And O, my Johnny, my deary,
Do, let us good fellows come over,
To taste your beef and beer-y.

"I 've read and I 've heard much of Wales,
Its mines, its meadows, and fountains;
Of black cattle fed in the vales,
And goats skipping wild on the mountains.
Were I but safe landed there,
What improvements I 'd make in the place!
I 'd prattle and kiss with the fair,
Give the men the fraternal embrace.

O my Taffy, my Taffy,
Soon I 'll come, if it please ye,
To riot on delicate mutton,
Good ale, and toasted cheese-y.

"Caledonia I long to see,
And if the stout fleet in the north
Will let us go by quietly,
Then I 'll sail up the Frith of Forth.
Her sons, I must own, they are dashing;
Yet, Johnny, between me and you,
I owe them a grudge for the thrashing
They gave that poor devil Menou.
O my Sawny, my Sawny,
Your bagpipes will make us all frisky;
We'll dance with your lasses so bonny,
Eat haggis and tipple your whisky.

"Hibernia's another snug place,
I hope to get there, too, some day,
Though our ships they got into disgrace
With Warren near Donegall Bay.
Though my good friends at Vinegar Hill,
They fail'd; be assured, Jack of this,
I 'll give them *French liberty* still,
As I have to the Dutch and the Swiss.
O my Paddies, my Paddies,
You are all of you honest good creatures;
And I long to be with you at Cork,
To sup upon fish and potatoes.

"'A fair wind and thirty-six hours'
Would bring us all over from Brest;
Tell your ships to let alone ours,
And we 'll manage all the rest.
Adieu, my dear boy, till we meet;
Take care of your gold, my honey;
And when I reach Threadneedle Street,
I 'll help you to count out your money.
But my fears they mount up, up, up,
And my hopes they sink down-y, down-y;
My heart it beats backwards and forwards,
And my head it runs round-y, round-y.

The House of Commons, which was not prorogued till late in the summer, added by its votes to the general patriotic spirit of the country. Sheridan was there the foremost in praising and encouraging the volunteers, and in calling attention to the important service done by the multitude of placards and songs that were thus distributed about the country. Those of his party who followed Fox in still wishing for friendship with France, and believing it possible, set him down for a confirmed alarmist; and in a print, published on the 1st of September, Gillray has caricatured him as a bill-sticker, alarming John Bull with the announcements of peril and danger, which he is so busy scattering over the land. The print is explained by the following dialogue :—

AN ALARMIST.

"JOHN BULL AND THE ALARMIST.

"John Bull as he sat in his old easy chair,
An alarmist came to him, and said in his ear,
'A Corsican thief has just slipt from his quarters,
And 's coming to ravish your wives and your daughters!'

"'Let him come and be d—d!' thus roar'd out John Bull,
'With my crabstick assur'd I will fracture his skull,
Or I 'll squeeze the vile reptile 'twixt my finger and thumb,
Make him stink like a bug if he dares to presume.'

"'They say a full thousand of flat-bottom'd boats,
Each a hundred and fifty have warriors of note,

J. Gillray. del.

F.W. Fairholt. F.S.A. sc.

THE HAND-WRITING ON THE WALL.

All fully determined to feast on your lands,
So I fear you will find full enough on your hands.'

"John smiling arose upright as a post,—
'I 've a million of friends bravely guarding my coast;
And my old ally Neptune will give them a dowsing,
And prevent the mean rascals to come here a lousing!'"

The effect of the songs and papers was confined to home, but the caricatures were carried abroad, and gave no little uneasiness to Buonaparte, for they were often coarsely personal, and the first consul was particularly sensitive to anything like ridicule against himself or his family. The caricature which gave him the greatest offence was a rather celebrated one by Gillray, published on the 24th of August, 1803, under the title of "The Handwriting upon the Wall." It is a broad parody on Belshazzar's feast. The first consul, his wife Josephine (to whom the artist has given a figure of enormous bulk), and other members of his family and court, are seated at their dessert devouring the good things of old England. Buonaparte himself is called off by the vision from the palace of St. James's, which is seen in his plate with his fork stuck into it; another worthy is swallowing the Tower of London; Josephine is drinking large bumpers of wine. A plate, inscribed "Oh, de roast beef of Old England!" bears the head of King George. The bottle labelled "Maidstone" is understood to refer to some of the Irish conspirators, tried at the assizes in that town. A hand above holds out the scales of Justice, in which the legitimate crown of France weighs down the red cap with its attendant chain—despotism under the name of liberty. Behind Josephine stand the three princesses of the afterwards imperial family, the Princess Borghese, the Princess

Louise, and the Princess Joseph Buonaparte. These ladies, who were the cause of some scandal by their alleged irregularities, were bitterly satirized, not only in caricatures, but even in medals and in other shapes, some of which were not of a character to describe here. In Gillray's large caricature of "The grand Coronation Procession," published on the 1st of January, 1805, on occasion of Napoleon's assumption of the

THE GRACES.

imperial dignity, the three princesses, clad in very meretricious garb, walk at the head of the procession as "the three imperial Graces," and scatter flowers in the way of the emperor and empress.

Most of the caricatures published during the latter part of the year 1803 were personal attacks on the ruler of France. In one, published in September, "The Butcher Buonaparte" is lifted on the shoulders

of Talleyrand that he may spy over his battlements the English cannon destroying his navy of gun-boats; he is made to exult over the slaughter of his own subjects, who began to be an embarrassment to him. It is said that Talleyrand always advised him against the invasion. In another caricature, published on the 6th of October, the spirit of evil is represented roasting Buonaparte for his supper; it is the fulfilment of a wish expressed in one of the songs quoted above. A third, published on the 25th of October, represents a party of "French *volunteers* marching to the conquest of Great Britain." The miserable "volunteers," who have been dragged from their homes much against their will, and shew very little inclination for the employment, are marched along chained and manacled.

Several of the "loyal papers" contain expressions which shew that there were still apprehensions that many people in this country were so discontented with King George's government that they would join the invaders, or, at least, be very lukewarm in resisting them. To counteract this feeling, the associations distributed strong appeals to the patriotism of all classes, shewing that the evils which they complained of at present were trifling in comparison with those that were threatened from abroad, placing before them the atrocious ravages committed in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, and even in France itself, by the republican plunderers, and admonishing them that these were only to be avoided by uniting vigorously and heartily in the common defence. English, Scot, and Irish, it was represented, had an equal interest at stake,—if they acted together, they were invincible. One of the garlands (to use an expression of the olden

time) of loyal songs introduces them discussing "the Invasion" in the following terms:—

"At the sign of the George, a national set
(It fell out on a recent occasion),
A Briton, a Scot, and Hibernian, were met
To discourse 'bout the threat'n'd invasion.

"The liquor went round, they joked and they laughed,
Were quite pleasant, facetious, and hearty;
To the health of their king flowing bumpers they quaff'd,
With confusion to great Buonaparte.

"Quoth John, 'Tis reported, that snug little strait,
Which runs betwixt Calais and Dover,
With a hop, step, and jump, that the consul elate
Intends in a trice to skip over.

"'Let him try every cunning political stroke,
And devise every scheme that he's able;
He 'll find us as firm and as hard to be broke,
As the bundle of sticks in the fable.'

"The Scot and Hibernian replied—'You are right—
Let him go the whole length of his tether;
When England, and Scotland, and Ireland unite,
They defy the whole world put together.'"

In spite, however, of all this courage and enthusiasm, and of the great measures taken for the defence of the country, it was a year of alarm and terror in England, such as it is to be hoped will not be experienced again. It was but a gloomy Christmas which closed it, and ushered in a new year with little improvement in our prospects. Every intelligence from abroad spoke of the marching of troops from all parts of the French territory to the coast from which the invasion was to be made. It was known that Buonaparte had been at Boulogne just before Christmas, to visit and inspect the preparations. The general uneasiness was increased towards the end of February by

the information which gradually spread abroad that the King was suffering under a new attack of the dreadful disorder to which he was constitutionally subject, and the country was thus in danger of losing the active assistance of its monarch at the moment of peril. Fortunately, however, the King's illness was not this time of long duration, and as summer approached the fears of invasion also began to wear away,* and public attention was called off to political changes of another kind.

Pitt, who had previously supported the Addington ministry, suddenly quarrelled with it in the spring of 1804, and placed himself in the opposition, This defection was at first evinced in frequent observations on the incapacity of the present government to help the country out of its difficulties, and in wishes for the formation of a strong administration on a "broad bottom" which should include "all the talents" of the different parties. It was soon known that Temple and the Grenvilles had joined Fox's party, but Pitt cautiously avoided compromising himself, although he spoke as much as anybody in favour of a coalition of parties. On the 14th of March, Gillray published a caricature entitled "The State Waggoner and John Bull; or, the Waggon too much for the Donkeys,—together with a distant view of the new coalition among Johnny's old horses." Addington, the state-driver, has run his waggon into a deep slough, from which the donkeys that are harnessed to it are unable to drag it. The unfortunate driver screams out—

* In July, 1804, the Paris papers, as quoted in our newspapers, said,—"The invasion has been only deferred, to render it more terrible when the whole strength of the French empire, destined to make the attack, shall be collected."

"Help, Johnny Bull! help!—my waggon's stuck fast in the slough!—help! help!" John Bull, dressed in the then fashionable accoutrements of a volunteer, and attended by his faithful dog, replies,—"Stuck fast in the slough?—ay, to be sure!—why doesn't put better cattle to thy wain?—look at them there horses doing o' nothing at all!—what signifies whether they matches in colour, if they do but drag the waggon out of the mud?—don't you see how the very thought o' being put into harness makes 'em all love and nubble one another?" The horses to which he points occupy a neighbouring bank, and present the well-known faces of Pitt, the Marquis of Buckingham, Fox, who is courting the friendship of Lords Temple and Grenville, Lords Holland, Grey, Erskine, Lauderdale, Moira, Castlereagh, Lord Carlisle, Canning, Wilberforce, Windham, and Sheridan, the two latter of whom are kicking at each other. The day after the date of this print, on the 15th of March, Pitt made a direct attack on the ministry in a motion on the naval defence of the country, which was supported by Fox, but opposed by Sheridan, who seemed to have deserted his old party to league with Addington. After the Easter recess, the opposition took a much more decisive character. On the 23rd of April, Fox brought forward a motion relating to the defence of the country (the subject now nearest to everybody's heart); and he was opposed by Addington, who insinuated that the mere object of the mover was to embarrass and over-

JOHN BULL TURNED VOLUNTEER.

throw his ministry. Pitt then rose to support Fox; he declared that he had no confidence in ministers, whom he blamed severely for their want of intelligence and foresight. In the course of the debate which followed the coalition was openly spoken of; but it was denied by Fox and Pitt, who declared that they were only united in a common opinion of the inefficiency of the men then in office. On a division, the usually large ministerial majority was reduced to fifty-two. Two nights afterwards this majority was further reduced to thirty-seven. Before the end of the month Pitt was in communication with the King for the formation of a new cabinet. A large caricature by Gillray, was published on the 1st of May, under the title of the "Confederated Coalition; or, the giants storming heaven, with the gods alarmed for their everlasting abodes;" in which the discordant elements of the opposition are represented under the character of the mythic giants following their chief leaders, Pitt and Fox, to the assault of the heavenly abode occupied by the ministerial triumvirate, Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord St. Vincent.

On the 12th of May, the *Gazette* announced that William Pitt was restored to his old place of chancellor of the Exchequer. In forming his cabinet, Pitt neither coalesced with Addington nor took in Fox. His quarrel with the former had ripened into personal hostility. He appears to have wished to conciliate Fox, and to give him a place in his cabinet; but here he had to contend with the hostility of the King, who met this proposal with a flat refusal. Lord Temple and the Grenvilles, who had engaged that Fox should come in, refused to take office without him. In the new administration, the Duke of Port-

land was president of the council; Lord Eldon, chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; Lord Chatham, master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Castlereagh president of the board of control. These had all formed a part of the Addington ministry. Pitt's friend, Dundas, who had now been raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Melville, was appointed first lord of the Admiralty; Lord Harrowby succeeded Lord Hawkesbury as secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Camden was made secretary for the colonies; and Lord Mulgrave chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Canning, who was now Pitt's main support in the House of Commons, was made treasurer of the Navy, without a place in the cabinet.

The change in the ministry produced a clever caricature from Gillray, published on the 20th of May, under the title of "Britannia between Death and the Doctors—Death may decide, when Doctors disagree." Britannia is reclining on her bed of sickness, with abundance of nostrums scattered over the room, but evidently not much relieved by her physicians. One of them, Fox, who grasps in his hand a bottle of "republican balsam," lies on the floor, stretched beneath the foot of Pitt, who with the other foot is kicking Addington and his "composing draught" out of doors. The new doctor raises triumphantly in his hand a bottle of his "constitutional restorative." While the doctors are thus settling their dispute, death, in the personage of Buonaparte (who still kept his immense army on the opposite coast with the professed intention of invading us) steals from behind the curtains, and aims a blow with his spear at their patient.

The opposition, thus swelled by the accession of

Addington and his friends, as well as the party of the Grenvilles, was very formidable, and Pitt actually came in with smaller majorities than those upon which Addington went out. The first trial of strength was on the 5th of June, when Pitt brought forward his plan for the military defence of the country. Sheridan attacked the new ministers with great bitterness, pointed out their weakness in the House of Commons, and expressed his opinion that they ought not to remain in office with such a strong feeling there against them. Pitt shewed more anger than it was usual for him to exhibit; he said, in reply to Sheridan, that, "as to the hint which had been so kindly given him to resign, it was not broad enough for him to take it; even if the bill were lost, he should not, for that, consider it his duty to resign—his Majesty had the prerogative of choosing his own servants;" and he complained much of the opposition of the Grenvilles. Other members of the opposition now rose in succession, and attacked the ministry; Fox declaimed against Pitt's indecent defiance of the opinion of the House; and the Grenvilles defended themselves.

Pitt, however, was evidently embarrassed by the hostility he had to encounter. It was clear that the old and compact party with which he had so long ruled the country, had been entirely broken up, and he seemed confused and irritated among the discordant materials that now lay before him. The singular position in which the little parties that had thus sprung up stood towards each other, and the personal intrigues they engendered, afforded subjects for the caricaturist on every side, and these were not overlooked. On the 18th of June Gillray caricatured the whole body of the

opposition in a large print, entitled "L'Assemblée Nationale; or, grand co-operative meeting at St. Anne's Hill; respectfully dedicated to the admirers of a 'Broad-bottomed Administration.'" It was at this period that Sayer produced some of his latest efforts in the cause of his old patron, Pitt. Many believed that the statesman's influence was sensibly affected by the probability that a new reign was near at hand, when he would no longer enjoy the royal countenance; and on the 11th of July Sayer published a large caricature, in which the Prince of Wales was represented as the rising sun, the Grenville party are on their knees as "Persians (*stowed* together) worshipping the rising sun;" Sheridan, and Fox, and some of their followers, are there as "Greeks;" the former says to Lord Temple, "Lower, my lord," although the "Greeks" themselves remain upright; and a solitary individual on one side is described as "Achitophel; an old Jew scribe, lately turned Greek." A paper, which protrudes from his pocket, exhibits the words, "Secret advice to his R. H.—No respecter of persons, to invite tag, rag, and bobtail to dine . . ."

The caricaturists attacked Pitt unsparingly. One of their prints, the only copy of which that I have seen is in the possession of Mr. Hawkins, published on the 1st of August, the day of the prorogation of parliament, represents the minister in the character of a Pierrot, playing on his puppet, which is apparently intended to represent Canning.

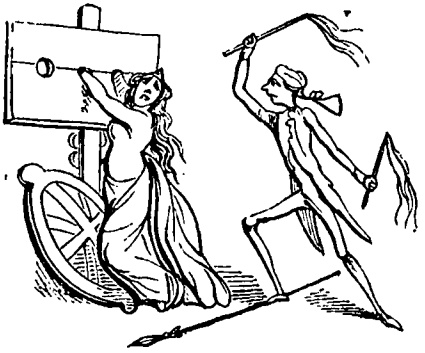
BILLY PIERROT AND HIS PUPPET.

The performer addresses himself to his audience,—"Here he is, gentlemen, a chip of the old block, one of my own manufactory,—

"Here you go up, up, up,
And there you go down, down, down-y!"

Fox had latterly assumed a much more moderate tone than when Pitt's supreme influence left him no hopes of power; he spoke with less bitterness of his political opponents, rested his opposition on the necessity of joining all parties in the support of the country and its constitution; he still shewed a little partiality for France and its rulers, but he called for vigorous exertions to carry on the war, now that we were irretrievably engaged in it. But there was another party now gaining head, much more extreme in its political principles than the Foxites, and which a little later assumed the name of Radicals. The leader of this party in the House of Commons was Sir Francis Burdett, who was taking the position in politics which had been held by Wilkes at the beginning, and by Fox in the middle, of this reign; and it was supported out of doors by Horne Tooke, still an active agitator, —by Cobbett, who had already commenced his political writings,—and by a number of other zealous partizans. Burdett triumphed over the ministers in the Middlesex election in August, 1804, as Wilkes had done on the same scene of action. It has been commemorated in an elaborate caricature by Gillray, published on the 7th of August, and entitled, "Middlesex Election—a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together." The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of the hustings, to which Burdett is carried in triumph in his barouche, with Horne Tooke, his pocket full of speeches, as driver. Behind stand Sheridan,

Tierney, and Erskine, carrying flags and banners. That held up by Sheridan bears the representation of Britannia fixed in the pillory, and scourged by Pitt, in



BRITANNIA SCOURGED.

allusion to the punishment of political offenders in the prison of Cold Bath Fields, the key of which is carried by Tierney, while Erskine hoists the standard of the "good old cause." In place of horses, the carriage is dragged along by the chiefs of the Whig party, consisting of Fox, the Dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lords Derby, Carlisle, and St. Vincent, with Grey and Bosville. Lord Moira acts as drummer. Tyrrell Jones, Grattan, and Fitzpatrick are at the hind wheels. In the distance, we see the Radicals pelting with mud the sign of Church, King, and Constitution.

With so many difficulties to face, Pitt seemed to lose his wonted courage, and his health, impaired by his devotion to the bottle, was rapidly breaking down. He did not venture to meet parliament until the 15th of January, 1805, when, after vain efforts to bring over the Grenvilles, he had at last succeeded in detaching Addington from the opposition. The latter was rewarded with a peerage, under the title of Viscount Sidmouth, and the office of president of the council,

vacated by Lord Portland on account of his advanced age. Still Pitt was not strong in his majorities, and the opposition he had to encounter was remarkably pertinacious and annoying. His own friends seemed to join in giving him uneasiness. At the beginning of the session Wilberforce persisted in bringing forward the question of the abolition of slavery, in spite of the entreaties of the minister; and he afterwards joined in promoting the impeachment of Pitt's old friend Lord Melville (Dundas), for whom he had contracted a sort of puritanical dislike, because he was a hard drinker and sometimes a rather profane joker. Wilberforce's conduct, on this occasion, is said to have given great annoyance to Pitt. Sayer has commemorated the attack upon Lord Melville in two caricatures, in both of which Wilberforce is represented as the puritan preacher, venting from his tub his saintly spleen against the sinner. In one of these, Whitbread, who had led the attack, is represented as a barrel of porter bursting, and stinking the members out of the house; Wilberforce exclaims, from his tub, "'Tis the Lord's doing, and has spoilt our brewery." In the other, Whitbread, a figure built up of tubs and barrels, is aiming a blow at the Scotch thistle (Melville) with his flail. This print is entitled, "The brewer and the thistle," and is accompanied with an epigram on Whitbread:

"Sansterre forsook his malt and grains,
To mash and batter nobles' brains,
By lev'lling rancour led;
Our Brewer quits brown stout and washey,
His malt, his mash-tub, and his quashea,
To mash a Thistle's head."

In May, Pitt had to contend with the question of all others most disagreeable to him at the present mo-

ment, from the part he had already taken in it, that of Catholic Emancipation, which, however, he opposed on the ground of the inexpediency of bringing it forward under the circumstances of the time. On the defeat of this attack from the opposition, Gillray published a caricature, dated the 17th of May, and entitled "The end of the Irish farce of Catholic Emancipation." The opposition, under the guidance of Fox, seated on a bull (of Irish breed) with a miniature of Buonaparte round its neck, after having reached the very threshold of the treasury, are overthrown by three blasts which come from the mouth of Pitt, Hawkesbury, and Sidmouth. Lord Grenville, who was in advance of the attacking party, and bears the crozier, is staggering backwards. Lord Moira is rolling over Mrs. Fitzherbert, who is stretched on the floor in a very undignified attitude. Lord Stanhope is incense-bearer, and Sheridan is about to elevate the host; but Lord Lauderdale drops the bell in alarm. Horne Tooke carries the cross, which is crowned with the *bonnet-rouge*. Cobbet exhibits the *Weekly Register*, and carries a representation of an *autodafé* performed in Smithfield. Others are acting a variety of parts. In the foreground stand the Duke of Clarence, who is struck with astonishment; the Duke of Bedford, meditating on transubstantiation; the Duke of Norfolk, preparing to toast the host in a goblet of Whitbread's entire; and Lords Derby, Carlisle, and Thanet, Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Grattan, singing vespers.

Pitt's budget was not allowed to pass without severe remarks, and a heavily increased duty on salt excited general dissatisfaction. People said that, when the grand contriver of taxes had visited every corner of the

house above stairs, he had now descended into the kitchen; and one of the caricatures, published at this period, represents the premier alarming the poor cook by popping his head out of the salt-box, with the unexpected salutation—"How do you do, cookey?" The

BILLY IN THE SALT-BOX.

person thus apostrophised cries out in consternation, "Curse the fellow, how he has frightened me!—I think, in my heart, he is getting in everywhere!—who the deuce would have thought of finding him in the salt-box?"

One only incident happened to cheer the minister in his painful struggle to carry out his plans, and that was one of an unusual character in the political warfare of former days. When an attempt, in his absence, was made to implicate Pitt in the charges of malversation brought against Lord Melville, Fox generously stood forward in his defence, and bore testimony of his high opinion of the personal integrity of the premier. Some said that this indicated in Fox a wish to be allowed to share in the pleasures of office, a sentiment which is exhibited in a caricature published by Gillray on the 21st of June, under the title of "Political Candour; *i. e.* Coalition Resolutions of June 14, 1805."

In the midst of this parliamentary strife at home, our inveterate enemy Buonaparte had made the last grand

step in his political ambition. He was proclaimed emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon I., on the 20th of May, 1804, and, crowned in Paris with extraordinary ceremonies on the 2nd of December following. A few days before this latter event, on the 26th of November, Gillray rejoiced all loyal volunteers, who hated the very name of the new sovereign, with a caricature, entitled "The Genius of France nursing her Darling," in which the genius is represented in the form of a veritable *poissarde*, her garments stained with blood, and her spear, dripping with gore, supported against the wall. A picture of the head of Louis XVI. is thrown on one side. The lady is tossing Napoleon, armed with his sceptre, as a child in one hand, and endeavouring to pacify his cries for a rattle surmounted with a crown, which she holds in the other. She sings a parody on the old nursery rhyme,—

"There 's a little King Pippin!
He shall have a rattle and crown!
Bless thy five wits, my baby!
Mind it don't throw itself down.
Hey, my kitten, my kitten!"

The same caricaturist published, on the 1st of January, 1805, a large burlesque print of "The Grand Coronation Procession." From this time, during several months, caricatures on the new emperor and empress, some of them very libellous and coarse, abounded. One by Gillray, published on the 26th of February, entitled "The Plum-pudding in danger; or, State Epicures taking *un petit souper*," represents Napoleon and Pitt contending over the globe in the shape of a plum-pudding, from which Pitt is cutting off the ocean as his share, while his antagonist is

helping himself to the whole of Europe. Measures, however, were now in active preparation for disputing with the new pretender to the ensignia of sovereignty his claims to the share which he thus arrogated to himself. In the course of the summer a third coalition against France was completed, the chief parties to which were Great Britain, Russia, and Austria. One of the English caricatures on this new armament was published in the October of 1805, under the title of "Tom Thumb at bay; or, the Sovereigns of the Forest roused at last;" Napoleon, flying from the eagle of Austria, the Russian bear, and the Westphalian pig, and dropping his crown and sceptre in his flight, is rushing into the open jaws of the British lion. In the distance the Dutchman is throwing off his yoke, and advising Spain and Portugal to do the same, and still further off is seen the British fleet riding triumphant on the sea. The new war on the continent only led Napoleon to new victories; after the Austrians had experienced several defeats, General Mack made a dishonourable surrender of Ulm to the French on the 17th of October, and thus laid open the Austrian empire to the invaders. Only four days after this disastrous event, on the 21st of October, the combined French and Spanish fleets were utterly destroyed in the memorable battle of Trafalgar. But the French army continued its victorious career; on the 14th of November Napoleon made his entry into Vienna, and on the 2nd of December was fought the fatal battle of Austerlitz, which compelled the Russians to retreat and the Austrians to submit to a humiliating peace.

The caricatures on these momentous events have little merit, and are scarcely worth enumerating. On

the 23rd of January, 1806, when Napoleon had begun his system of king-making with his kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, Gillray produced one of a superior character, under the title of "Tiddy Doll, the great gingerbread baker, drawing out a new batch of kings, his man, hopping Talley, mixing up the dough." Talleyrand, who was short of one leg, is employed as thus described, while his master, Napoleon, as baker, is drawing from the oven a batch of gingerbread kings. A number of figures scattered over the bakehouse represent the melancholy condition of Europe at this period. On a board on one side stand a number of "little dough viceroys intended for the next new batch," on which we trace the faces of Fox, Sheridan, Lord Derby, and others of the English Whig leaders. The broomstick in Napoleon's hand is inscribed as the "besom of destruction."

Pitt's health had been fast declining through the autumn and winter, and parliament met on the 21st of January, 1806, only to witness his death, which occurred on the 23rd. A new opening was thus made for the intrigues of parties, and the task of forming a ministry was not an easy one. The King still detested the name of Fox; but after several persons had refused to take the responsibility of forming a ministry, among whom were Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Sidmouth, and, it is said, the Marquis Wellesley, he was at length obliged to throw himself on the Grenvilles and Foxites, and consented to the formation of the comprehensive coalition ministry, which became known by the title of "All the Talents." In this ministry, the formation of which was announced on the 4th of February, Lord Grenville was first Lord of the Treasury; Fox, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Sidmouth, Lord Privy

Seal; Earl Fitzwilliam, President of the Council; Grey, now Lord Howick, first Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Moira, Master-general of the Ordnance; Earl Spencer, Home Secretary; Windham, Secretary for the Colonies; Lord Henry Petty, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Erskine, Lord Chancellor; and Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control. Among the minor places, Sheridan, who was notoriously unfit for business, obtained that of Treasurer of the Navy.

This extraordinary cabinet contained far too many jarring elements to be lasting, and it soon became universally unpopular. The number of caricatures against this "broad-bottomed" ministry was very great. An anonymous print, published on the 20th of February, represents the King making a bowl of punch from a number of bottles, each bearing the face of one or other of the members of this strange coalition; he says, "Though the ingredients, taken separately, may not be pleasing to every palate, yet, when mixed together, they may go down with a tolerable relish." On the same day, Gillray published a humorous caricature entitled, "Making decent; *i. e.* Broad Bottomites getting into the Grand Costume;" in which most of the new ministers, who had long been out of office, are represented as dressing themselves for presentation at court. On the 5th of March, the same artist published a caricature entitled, "More pigs than teats; or, the new litter of hungry grunters sucking John Bull's old sow to death;" in fact, the numerous hungry claimants that were now brought in, promised small relief to John Bull's burthens, and he is here made to express the fear that there will soon be nothing left for "Boney" if he come. Another of Gillray's caricatures, published on the 14th of March,

and entitled, "A tub for the whale," represents the crew of the "Broad-bottom packet" throwing out a tub to amuse the whale that pursues them, (public opinion,) which is spouting out "ridicule" and "contempt;" the sun of Whig government is setting, and a broom at the mast-head indicates that the vessel is for sale. Another, by the same artist, on the 5th of April, under the title of "Pacific overtures; or, a flight from St. Cloud's 'over the water to Charley,'" burlesques the attempt at negotiations for peace with France, provoked by Napoleon himself, but overthrown by his extravagant pretensions. It is described as "a new dramatic *peace*, now rehearsing," and implies a somewhat unmerited censure on the Whigs. Fox, as minister, shewed no inclination to sacrifice the honour of his country, in these futile negotiations. On the 21st of April Gillray founded a caricature on a declaration by Fox that his place was not a bed of roses, which he entitled, "Comforts of a bed of roses; vide, Charles's elucidation of Lord Castlereagh's speech!—a nightly scene near Cleveland Row." Fox and his wife are asleep in bed, when Napoleon is attacking the minister in the midst of his slumber; the ghost of Pitt rouses him—"Awake, awake! or be for ever fallen!"

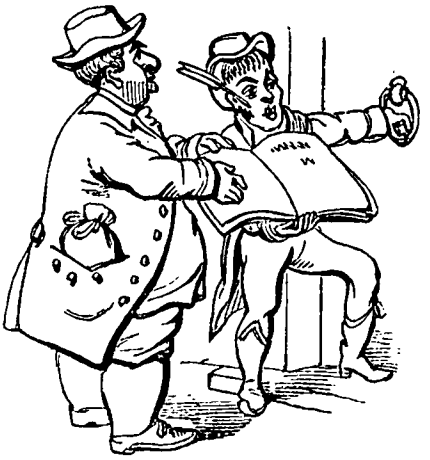
The moderation which had lately characterized Fox's sentiments, was accounted for by some by supposing that he had fallen under the influence of Lord Grenville; in fact, Lord Grenville, they thought, had tamed the bear. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 19th of May, was entitled, "The bear and his leader," and represented Lord Grenville teaching Fox, as his bear, to dance; the leader holds in his hand a "cudgel for disobedient bears;" and in his pocket is seen a

paper inscribed, "rewards for obedient bears." Lord Sidmouth, with a patch on one eye, acts as fiddler, and M. A. Taylor sustains the character of the monkey.

THE BEAR AND HIS LEADER.

The necessity under which Fox, who had so severely criticised the acts of former ministers in this respect, found himself of increasing the burthen of taxation, completed the unpopularity of the new ministry. Two caricatures by Gillray, published on the 9th and 28th of May, have reference to this subject. The first is entitled, "A Great Stream from a Petty Fountain; or, John Bull swamped in the flood of New Taxes; Cormorants fishing in the stream." The face of Lord Henry Petty, Fox's Chancellor of the Exchequer, adorns the fountain from which the flood of taxation issues; and a numerous herd of placemen, in the likeness of so many cormorants, are greedily snatching at the loaves and fishes. In the second of these caricatures, which is entitled, "The 'Friend of the People' and his Petty new Tax-gatherer paying John Bull a visit," Fox and Lord Henry Petty, with a terrible book of new taxes, make their call on John Bull, who has shut up his shop (which is announced "to let")

and removed his family to the first floor from motives of economy. Lord Henry Petty knocks, and raises the cry, "Taxes! taxes! taxes!" to which John Bull responds from the window above, "— Taxes! taxes!



TAX GATHERERS.

taxes!—why how am I to get money to pay them all? I shall very soon have neither a house nor hole to put my head in." The man of the people, little touched by this appeal, shouts to him, "A house to put your head in?—why what the devil should you want with a house?—haven't you got a first floor room to live in? —and if that is too dear, can't you move into the garret or get into the cellar?—Taxes must be had, Johnny—come, down with your cash!—it's all for the good of your dear country!"

The proceedings on Lord Melville's impeachment drew other caricatures on the Foxites, and, of course, more especially on Whitbread, who is represented in one of them as taking refuge in a cask of his own entire. Fox's frail tenure of office was hinted at, on the 20th of June, in a caricature by Gillray, entitled, "Bruin in his boat, or the manager in distress."

Even the signs of approaching dissolution did not shield the great leader of the Whigs from the shafts of satire. A caricature by Gillray, published on the 28th of July, under the title of "Visiting the Sick," represents Fox on his couch of death, insulted by some, mourned over by a few, while many are rejoicing at the prospect of getting rid of him. On the 1st of September, when every one was aware that the minister had but few days to live, Gillray ridiculed his attempts at negotiating for peace in a caricature entitled, "Westminster Conscripts under the training act," in which Fox appears as drummer to his awkward squad, and Lord Lauderdale, his ambassador, is a Scottish dove, bearing the insulting "terms of peace" for his olive branch. On the 13th of September, Charles James Fox followed his great rival to the grave, doubling the irretrievable void which had already been felt on the political stage. On the very day of his death, Gillray published a new caricature, in which his negotiations for peace were again incidentally turned to ridicule; it is entitled, "News from Calabria; capture of Buenos Ayres; *i. e.* the comforts of an imperial breakfast at St. Cloud's." Napoleon is represented, while at his breakfast-table, bursting into one of those petulant paroxysms of rage to which he is said to have been subject under contradiction or disappointment: the cause on this occasion is an accumulation of bad news from different parts of the world; the breakfast-table is kicked over; the hot water thrown on the empress, who is losing her crown in the first start of consternation.

The death of Fox produced no immediate change in the ministry of any importance. He was succeeded as Foreign secretary by Lord Howick (Grey), who

was now the true representative of Fox's principles. Mr. T. Grenville succeeded Lord Howick as first lord of the Admiralty; Sidmouth became president of the Council in place of Lord Fitzwilliam, who had resigned, and was succeeded as keeper of the Privy Seal by Lord Holland, the only new member introduced into the cabinet. For reasons which are not very evident, an immediate dissolution of Parliament was resolved upon, and the new elections were not altogether favourable to ministers, who, moreover, had never enjoyed the confidence of the King. The most remarkable of the elections were those for Middlesex and Westminster, which produced a considerable number of caricatures, besides multitudes of political squibs of all descriptions. Gillray published not less than half-a-dozen caricatures on this occasion. Sir Francis Burdett figured prominently in both elections, —he was beaten at Brentford by the Court candidate (for he was in opposition), and at Covent Garden he supported his radical friend, Paul, against Sheridan and Lord Hood, who had formed a coalition against him. The first of Gillray's caricatures is entitled the "Triumphant procession of little Paul the tailor upon his new goose;" Burdett was usually caricatured by his opponents under the form of a goose; he is here led in a noose by Horne Tooke, and urged forwards with a kick from Cobbett behind. His second, published on the 11th of November, represented Sheridan and Hood tossing Paul in the coalition blanket, and was entitled, "The high-flying candidate (*i. e.*, little Paul Goose) mounting from a blanket." A third caricature by Gillray, is a very spirited sketch entitled "Posting to the Election; a scene on the road to Brentford, Nov. 1806." Each of the various parties

interested, is hastening on in its own way. Sheridan, who was supported by Whitbread, is dashing through thick and thin on a brewer's horse, which looks as if it had just broke loose from the dray. He carries Lord Hood behind him; hung to the horse's side is a pannier of "Subscription malt and hops from the Whitbread brewery;" in his pocket a manuscript entitled, "Neck or Nothing, a new coalition." A kick of the

A COALITION OF CANDIDATES.

horse behind is overthrowing Paul from his donkey. On the other side, rapidly gaining a head of them, is Mr. Mellish, one of the victorious candidates for Middlesex, driven by Lord Grenville in a coach and four, behind which, as footmen, stand the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Temple, and Lord Castlereagh. They are followed close by Mr. Byng, in a post-chaise drawn by two spirited hacks; he represents the old Whig interest, and has a wooden bust of Fox on the box before him. Last comes Burdett, in a cart slowly dragged through a pool of muddy water by four donkeys; behind him in the cart are Horne Tooke, Mr. Bosville (one of the very active radicals of the day), and Cobbett, who

is acting as drummer, with his "Political Register" and "Inflammatory Letters," as drumsticks; his drum has for its badge the republican *bonnet rouge*. A parcel of sweeps are pushing the cart behind, to help it forwards. A "View of the Hustings in Covent Garden," published by Gillray on the 15th of December, represents Hood and Sheridan browbeaten by the mob-eloquence of their opponent Paul; Whitbread is encouraging and consoling Sheridan with a pot of porter. A fifth caricature on this subject, published by Gillray in December, is entitled, "Peter and Paul expelled from Paradise;" they are on their way to Wimbledon, where Tooke resided, and their condition is intimated by a parody on Milton,—

A RADICAL DRUMMER.

> "The world was all before them, where to choose
> Their place of rest, and Parson Tooke their guide."

No measures could now save the present ministry long, for the King had already determined they should go out, and only waited for an occasion for dismissing them. This was furnished in March, 1807, by a bill proposed by Lord Grenville for the relief of the Roman Catholics in Ireland. The King announced his intention of changing his ministers about the middle of March; he appears to have carried on private negotiations before that time, or even before the opportunity for the blow was given; but it was not till the beginning of April that the new ministry was definitely formed. It consisted of the Duke of Portland, first lord of the trea-

sury; Lord Hawkesbury, home secretary; George Canning, secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Castlereagh, secretary for war and the colonies; Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Camden, president of the council; the Earl of Chatham, master of the ordnance; the Earl of Westmoreland, keeper of the privy seal; Earl Bathurst, president of the board of trade; Lord Eldon, chancellor; and Lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty. Perceval, who was notorious for his opposition to the Catholic claims, was considered as the chief.

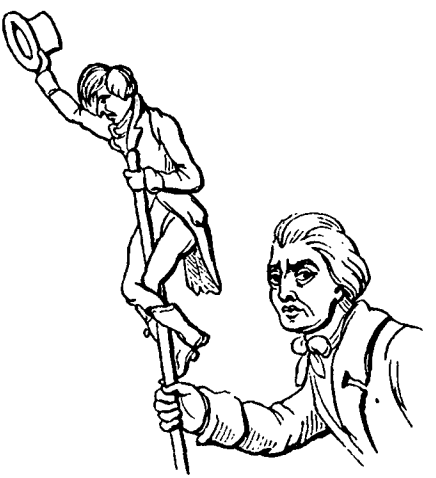
The court, in making this change, adopted the tactics so often used with success before, of raising an agitation against the whigs, by stirring up popular prejudices. The cry of "No popery" was raised again, and with good effect; and a host of new caricatures came out to ridicule the broad-bottomed administration of "All the Talents." On the 23rd of March, Gillray represented the King kicking out his old ministry very unceremoniously, in a caricature entitled "A kick at the broad bottoms; *i. e.* emancipation of All the Talents." A caricature by the elder Cruikshank, published on the 4th of April, under the title of "The Protestant St. George too much for all the *Tallons;* or, The beast with seven heads," represents the King encountering his ministerial hydra, while Mrs. Fitzherbert is seen behind lamenting over its defeat, and the prince is making his escape to hide himself. A caricature published by Gillray, on the 18th of April, represented King George as John Bull's farmer, driving the herd of rapacious pigs out of his sty—it is entitled "The pigs possessed; or, the broad-bottomed litter running headlong into the sea of perdition." The artist had already, on the 6th of April, celebrated

the demise of the ministry in a humorous caricature, entitled "The funeral procession of Broad-bottom." About the same time, Gillray published a clever caricature, entitled "Charon's boat; or, the ghosts of All the Talents taking their last voyage." The boat, with Earl St. Vincent at the helm, is heavily laden with the principal members of the late administration. On the opposite shore an expectant group, consisting of the ghosts of Fox, Oliver Cromwell, Robespierre, Despard (who had been hung for treason in England), and Quidgley (an Irish rebel executed at Chelmsford), are prepared to welcome the new arrival. In the clouds are the three fatal sisters who had joined in cutting the thread of the broad-bottomed cabinet, bearing the figures of Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and George Canning. In another caricature, published on the 28th of April, Gillray selects Lord Temple as the more especial object of his attire. It was spread abroad as a piece of scandal against Lord Temple, that he had provided himself, while in office, with a small perquisite, to the amount of between one and two thousand pounds worth of stationery. This story was the subject of many jokes and epigrams. Under the title of "The fall of Icarus," Gillray represents Lord Temple attempting to fly away with wings made of the quills he had thus appropriated to himself, but the wax being melted by the sun (exhibiting the face of King George), the adventurer is falling in a very perilous posture on "a stake from the public hedge."*

* This alludes to an incident in the debate on the right of Horne Tooke to sit in the House of Commons. Lord Temple, who was his great opponent, having stated that he had a stake in the country, Tooke responded that he also had a stake, although it was a small one, but it was not taken out of "the public hedge."

"With plumes, and wax, and such like things,
In quantities not small,
He tries to make a pair of wings,
To raise his sudden fall!"

When the "No popery!" cry was at the highest, and every effort had been made to decry the supporters of the late motley administration, Parliament was again dissolved. The elections, which took place in May, were, as might be expected, in favour of the new administration. Immense sums of money were expended on the elections, and the country was agitated in the most violent manner. Westminster was again the scene of a turbulent contest. Burdett, who had quarrelled with his old fellow-radical Paul, after the election of the year preceding, to such a degree that it ended in a duel in which both were wounded, now offered himself as a candidate against him at the election, and was placed at the head of the poll. He was again backed by Horne Tooke, and a caricature, published in May, represented the Brentford parson carrying the successful candidate at the head of his *pole*, and exhibiting him to the crowd collected in Covent Garden; it is entitled "The head of the Poll; or, the Wimbledon Showman and his Puppet." Tooke exhibits him as "the finest puppet in the world, gentlemen, entirely of my own formation, I have only to say the word, and he'll do anything." Gillray adopted



AT THE HEAD OF THE POLL.

the same pun in a caricature published on the 20th of May, under the title of "Election Candidates; or, the republican Goose at the top of the *pole*." The four candidates, Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Sheridan, and Paul, are climbing the election pole; Burdett, as a goose, is perched on the top, where he is held by the assistance of the evil one; next below him is Lord Cochrane, then Sheridan, and, finally, Paul, who, having missed his grasp, comes tumbling to the ground.

The Tories, now in power, attacked the foreign policy of their predecessors, and accused them of having paved the way for Napoleon's successes. It was certainly the period at which the imperial power was at its highest point. Gillray, on the 25th of June, 1807, satirized the fallen "Talents" in a caricature entitled "The new Dynasty; or, the little Corsican Gardener planting a royal Pippin-tree," an allusion to the numerous new kings lately raised into existence by Napoleon. The Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville, and Lord Lauderdale are demolishing the royal oak, while Napoleon and Talleyrand are busy planting new trees. A plantation of continental king-pippins occupy the background, while in front lie as grafts ready for planting Horne Tooke, Sir Francis Burdett, and Cobbett. On the top of the royal pippin-tree in Napoleon's hand is seen the head of Lord Moira.

The war had not, however, been inglorious to England, although alliance after alliance had been broken up, and all the great powers of the continent had not only been separated from us, but they had been obliged to turn against us. Nevertheless, the battle of Maida, in the summer of 1806, had broken the spell

which had made people believe that the French armies were invincible; and victory continued to attend our fleets in every part of the world. It was in 1807 that Napoleon began to shew his designs upon Spain, and commenced the war which first brought him in direct contact with British armies, and contributed so much to his final overthrow. In England the terrors of "invasion" had given way to a feeling of triumph and exultation in our position in the war. On the first day of the year 1807 appeared a caricature representing John Bull grasping the "little Corsican" as a fiddle, and playing upon him with his sword, to the tune of "Britons, strike home!" it is entitled, "John Bull playing on the *base villain*." Caricatures in this spirit began now to be frequent; and the numerous prizes brought in by our ships, during the very period at which the French emperor expected to ruin us by setting the whole continent against us, animated the English people to new exertions and new sacrifices.

JOHN BULL TURNED FIDDLER.

Among the caricatures published at this period, was one by Woodward, which appeared on the 27th of November, 1807, soon after the British order of council placing all France under blockade, in answer to Napoleon's Berlin decree; it is entitled, "The continental dockyard." On one side of the Channel is "The Gallic storehouse for English shipping,"

which is empty and falling into ruin. In front stands Napoleon, angrily threatening his master shipwright,—

MASTER AND MAN.

"Begar, you must vork like de diable, ve must annihilate dis John Bull!" The shipwright, aghast, replies, "Please you, my grand Empereur, tes no use vatever; as fast as ve do build dem, he vas clap dem in his storehouse over de way." On the other side of the water stands John Bull's storehouse full of captured ships, with John himself surrounded by his in-

JOHN BULL AND HIS INDUSTRIOUS SERVANTS.

dustrious tars, whom he addresses, "I say, my lads, if he goes on this way, we shall be overstock'd." One of the sailors replies with the dry observation, "What a deal of pains some people take for nothing."

CHAPTER XVI.

GEORGE III. AND THE REGENCY.

NEW PROSPECTS. — STRUGGLES OF PARTIES; SIR FRANCIS BURDETT; JOHN BULL IN ADMIRATION. — THE REGENCY. — THE WAR; ELBA; WATERLOO; ST. HELENA.—ENGLAND AFTER THE PEACE; TAXATION AND REFORM; THE DANDIES AND THE HOBBY-HORSES.

THE prospects of England under the new ministry were, indeed, far from encouraging. Napoleon was gradually bringing the whole of Europe under his yoke, and turning it against this country, and many looked forwards to the time when we should have to prepare for an invasion under much greater disadvantages than in 1803. Few months had passed since the formation of the cabinet, when Russia, which declared war against England on the 1st of December, leagued with France, and was added to the list of our enemies. In the course of 1808 the French occupied Spain, and invaded Portugal. Austria rose up in indignation at the humiliating treatment she received from the French emperor in the spring of 1809; but within four months her territory was overrun by the victorious armies of her enemy, and she was compelled to accept a still more humiliating peace.

The nation in general, however, felt no discouragement, and people indulged more than ever in coarse ridicule on the person and pretensions of the Emperor of the French. The caricatures became now so numerous, that in the course of a few years their titles

alone would fill a volume. Gillray's labours in this line closed with the year 1809. On the 10th of April, 1808, this celebrated artist satirized the sanguine promises of success held out by the English ministers in a caricature, entitled "Delicious dreams! —Castles in the air!—Glorious Prospects!" The ministers, full of wine and punch, are sunk in slumber, under the shade of which splendid visions break in upon them. Britannia and her lion occupy a triumphal car, formed of the hull of a British ship, drawn by an Irish bull and led by an English tar. She drags to the Tower the Corsican tyrant and the Russian

BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANT.

bear, both in chains, and followed by a countless host of meaner captives, while a crowd of English soldiers and sailors escort and welcome her. On the 11th of July of the same year, when Napoleon, by the basest treachery, had plunged himself into the fatal Spanish war, he was represented by Gillray as a luckless "matador," engaged in a Spanish bull-fight; he has already broken his sword in the animal's flank, but with only partial effect, and his infuriated opponent is tossing him with his horns and goring him to death. The spectators in the gallery are the different sovereigns of Europe, among whom King George of England appears to take most interest in the combat. Another caricature on foreign affairs was published

by Gillray on the 24th of September, under the title of "The Valley of the Shadow of Death." Napoleon is represented, with the Russian bear at his command, entering the fearful vale, where his progress is arrested by the British lion, the Sicilian terrier, and the Portuguese wolf, who are urged on by Death mounted on a horse of the "royal Spanish breed;" others of the European states appear as monsters ready to beset him in his path; even the Russian bear shews an inclination to get loose from his chain. As Gillray was disappearing from the scene, a number of clever caricaturists supplied his place—the Rowlandsons, Woodwards, Cruikshanks, and their companions — under whom the taste for these productions was not allowed to diminish. From their hands our foreign enemies were assailed with numerous caricatures during this and the following year. As the power of Napoleon seemed to become more firmly established, these became more insulting; and no event produced a greater number than his divorce and his marriage with the arch-duchess, but they are nearly all coarse and indelicate.

Although in appearance sufficiently occupied in Europe, Napoleon's secret desires were still supposed to be turned towards the East, in the hopes of getting at our Indian possessions. He was known to have envoys intriguing at Constantinople, and in Syria and Egypt. One of the best of the anonymous caricatures of the year 1808 was published on the 9th of July, under the title of "Boney bothered; or, an unexpected Meeting." The hero thinks that he has made his way through the globe unperceived, and suddenly starts forth and places his foot upon Bengal, but in his dismay at finding John Bull there before him, he

drops his sword and his "plan of operations in the East Indies," and exclaims, "Begar, Monsieur Jean Bull again!—Vat, you know I vas come here?" His

AN UNEXPECTED MEETING.

sturdy opponent, who has his pocket full of letters of "secret intelligence," replies, "To be sure I did!—for all your humbug deceptions, I smoked your intentions, and have brought my oak twig with me, so now you may go back again."

The ministry of 1807 had other and greater difficulties to contend against than the embarrassments of foreign affairs. It had succeeded a ministry that was remarkable for the discordancy of its materials, and it was on that account ridiculed even by its successors, yet they were so far from being distinguished by their unanimity, that they are said to have disagreed almost as soon as they were brought together. The success of the cry of "no popery," which had been spread abroad with extraordinary zeal, and the fear of our enemies abroad, had ensured them a majority in Parliament; but the opposition was still strong, both from the questions it had to work upon, and from the

number of small parties who, included in the proscription of the "broad bottoms," were willing to join in embarrassing those who kept them from office, on whatever question the attack might be based. Out of doors the dissatisfaction was increasing, people became more clamorous and more riotous, and the radical party was gaining ground rapidly. We can only briefly trace the struggle of parties in a few of the more striking of the caricatures to which it gave rise. The satire of Gillray was now invariably directed against the opposition. On the 22nd of March, 1808, in a caricature entitled "Phaeton alarmed," he represented Canning as the political Phaeton, setting the world on fire by driving too near "the sun of Anti-Jacobinism." The heavens are filled with threatening constellations, —here Leo Britannicus disturbs him by his roar; there the Duke of Norfolk, under the figure of Silenus, threatens him with his bottles; Napoleon is riding on Ursa Major; and in other parts of the firmament are seen the vast Scorpion of broad-bottomry, the Bull of Ireland, with the porridge-pot of Catholic emancipation attached to its tail, and the other "horrors of the heavens." Lord Lauderdale, Whitbread, Lord Sidmouth, and Erskine, are making a futile attempt to quench the burning rays of the sun. The chariot of Phaeton is drawn by four horses, representing Lord Hawkesbury, (now Lord Liverpool), Mr. Perceval, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Eldon. Neptune looks aghast on the scene of devastation. Pitt, in the character of Apollo, is rising to the rescue; and Fox, as Pluto, is taking a peep from the shades. On the 2nd of May, under the title of "Broad-bottom drones storming the hive; wasps, hornets, and humble bees joining in the attack," Gillray represented the Trea-

sury as the royal hive, with its honey-pots filled with gold; the industrious bees who are in office rush out boldly to defend their pleasant quarters from the crowd of assailants, whose difference of colour and method of opposition is represented by their division into drones, wasps, hornets, and humble-bees. In April, he had published a caricature entitled, "The Constitutional squad (*i. e.* opposition) advancing to attack," in which the most formidable weapon of the assailants is an immense brass cannon, entitled "Revolutionary argument." The Tories still kept up the old accusation against their opponents of republicanism and Jacobinism, and they now declared that they aimed at the introduction of popery. Mrs. Fitzherbert was again brought on the stage; and it was intimated that, through her influence, the Prince of Wales, who still supported the Whigs, had been induced to favour the claims of the catholics for relief. The suspicion of a tendency towards Rome, thus raised, remained years afterwards attached to the prince in the belief of a considerable portion of English society. Several caricatures, which appeared about this time, represented the opposition as led by the prince, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and the *pope*. On the 25th of June, 1808, appeared a bold and clever print by Gillray, entitled, "Disciples catching the mantle; the spirit of darkness overshadowing the priests of Baal." On one side the ministers are seen standing round "The altar of the constitution," which is planted on "The rock of Ages." Pitt, as a political Elijah, is carried up to the heavens of immortality in a fiery chariot, and they are receiving his mantle. The opposition, on the other side, are scattered in confusion and dismay on the "broad-bottom dunghill," where the spirit of Fox, in the

shape of a fiend, is hiding them under his cloak; Lord. Grenville is getting into "Charley's old breeches."

During the following year (1809) a number of unfortunate occurrences, the mismanagement of the Spanish war, the revelations of Mrs. Clarke, and above all the expedition to Walcheren, strengthened the opposition and embarrassed the court. The ministers were irritated at the pertinacity of the attacks to which they were exposed within doors and without, and they retaliated by more frequent prosecutions for political writings or speeches. This method of facing the danger only made the evil worse, and the cry for reform soon took a form too threatening to be disregarded. The Tory party continued to tell people that reform was only another name for republicanism, but people would no longer believe it, now that they were relieved from the fears of French propagandism. Gillray published on the 14th of June, 1809, a caricature entitled, "True Reform of Parliament, *i. e.* Patriots lighting a revolutionary bonfire in New Palace Yard," in which the radical portion of the opposition, led by Burdett and his supporter Cobbett, are represented as so many incendiaries burning the records of the rights and privileges of Englishmen, while the mob are busily destroying Wesminster Hall and the Parliament House. The moderate "broad bottoms," alarmed at these proceedings, turn their backs on their old comrades. This and a series of prints of the life of Cobbett, whose fortune the ministers were now making, by the notice they took of him, were the last political works of Gillray; and it is not an unimportant sign of the times, that most of the numerous caricaturists who sprang up to supply his place took the

popular side of every question. Burdett and Cobbett were now the two great heroes of political agitation; and the former was raised into especial importance by an unwise persecution for what may fairly be termed a piece of political coxcombry. The enforcing the standing orders against the admission of strangers during the inquiry concerning the Walcheren expedition had given great offence to the liberal party out of doors. A debating society entitled the "British forum," presided over by a man named John Gale Jones, publicly announced as a subject for discussion, the conduct of the House of Commons in excluding the public from its debates, and the house angrily and very indiscreetly voted it a breach of privilege and committed Jones to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett, thinking it a good opportunity for making a noise, delivered a very intemperate speech in the house, and afterwards published it with an equally intemperate letter to his constituents in Cobbett's Weekly Register. This was a much more gross attack upon the House of Commons than anything that had been said in the debating society, and seemed intended only to stir up the most violent passions of the populace. The House of Commons voted Sir Francis into the Tower, and the Speaker issued a warrant for his apprehension; but he shut himself up in his house in Piccadilly, and barricaded it for a siege, and then set the Speaker and the House of Commons at defiance. Inflammatory placards were displayed in every part of the town, an immense mob collected, it was found necessary to bring out the military, and for several days the metropolis presented scenes of riot and violence such as had rarely been seen. Some persons were killed, and the jury, under the strong

influence of party feeling, brought a verdict of guilty against the military. Burdett, however, was at last secured in the Tower, where he remained till the close of the session of parliament, when the House of Commons found that it had only given itself much trouble to make Sir Francis Burdett a greater man in the eyes of the populace than he was before. One of the political squibs of the day announced that "on Thursday, June the 21st (the period for the prorogation of parliament), or near that time, the sun of patriotism will emerge from the region of darkness in the east, and again cheer the inhabitants of the west with the warmth of his rays, the malignant planets will, for some time at least, lose their baleful influence under the cloud which ought to obscure them for ever." A caricature, apparently by Woodward, entitled, "Genial

JOHN BULL ENJOYING THE SUNSHINE.

rays; or, John Bull enjoying the sunshine," represents this "sun of patriotism" (Burdett) shining in its full glory, and John Bull reclining on a bed of roses, is basking joyously in its rays.

It would be an amusing task to trace John Bull through his varieties of figure and expression in the caricatures during half a century. This singular personification of Old England seems to have been brought into existence by the admirable political satire

of Pope's friend, Dr. Arbuthnot. For a long time Britannia and her lion were the only national representatives in the caricatures, and John Bull hardly took a pictorial form before the time of Gillray. It was in his hands that he became the plump, sleek, good-humoured individual we are at present in the habit of beholding. In the first attempts at representing him, he had none of these characteristics. Different artists of a later period, while they gave him more or less individuality, according to their own style and sentiments, still kept the general character which he had received from Gillray's pencil. Thus Rowlandson pictured him with that coarse and vulgar air which characterises all his drawings, and for which that artist might not unaptly be termed the Rubens of caricature. The type of John Bull, according to Rowlandson's idea of him, here given, is taken from a caricature by that artist, entitled "The Head of the Family in Good-humour." An amusing caricature, entitled "John Bull come to the Bone," perhaps by Woodward, and published at the time of the peninsular war, when John was suffering heavily from the burthen of taxation, represents him as reduced to poverty, which is accompanied by a great reduction of his personal appearance. He still, however, retains his stick of good "Wellington oak." In this condition he is accosted by the Frenchman, who exults in the belief that his poverty has almost made him harmless:—"By gar, Monsieur Jean Bull, you

JOHN BULL A LA ROWLANDSON.

var much alter,—should not know you var Jean; I vas as big as you now!" John is indignant at the insult:—"Why, look you, Mounseer Parleyvou, though I have got thinner myself, I have a little sprig of oak in my hand that 's as strong as ever; and if you give me any of your palaver, I 'll be d—d if you shan't feel the weight of it."

JOHN BULL RATHER THIN.

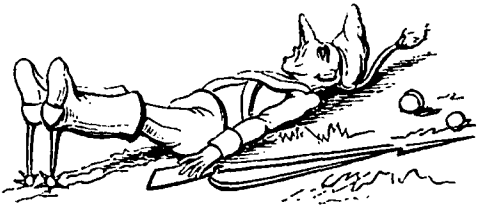
The Walcheren expedition had the almost immediate effect of breaking up, or at least of dividing, the cabinet. Some of the ministers, among whom was Canning, had been from the first opposed to the expedition, which seems to have been a plan of the King's, and Canning and Castlereagh are said to have been personally jealous of each other from the first. The disagreement between them at length broke out into an open quarrel, and the two ministers fought a duel on Putney Heath, on the 21st of September, 1809, in which Canning was wounded. This was immediately followed by their resignation, as well as by that of the Duke of Portland, and other members of the administration. Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool remained, who made an ineffectual attempt to form a coalition with Lord Grenville and the Whigs. At length the Marquess of Wellesley agreed to take Canning's place of secretary of state for foreign affairs, Mr. Perceval took the Duke of Portland's place of president of the council along with his own, Lord Liverpool took the place of Lord Castlereagh as secre-

tary of war, and the Hon. R. Ryder was appointed home secretary.

The disastrous results of the Walcheren expedition contributed towards an event of much greater moment than this change in the ministry. The King, whose measure it was, and at whose particular desire the appointment of the inefficient Lord Chatham as commander was made, is said never to have ceased brooding over it; and this, with other political annoyances, added to domestic affliction, brought on at the end of October, 1810, a new attack of insanity, from which he never recovered. The Parliament met on the 1st of November under the same embarrassing circumstances as in 1788, and a bill of regency was now brought in and passed, modelled upon that brought forward by William Pitt on the former occasion, except that, as the hopes of the King's recovery were now much more faint, the restrictions were made only temporary. On the 8th of February, 1811, the Prince of Wales was formally installed as Prince Regent. This event produced on the whole less sensation than might have been expected, certainly much less than it would have done when Pitt and Fox were alive and in their vigour. Contrary to people's expectations, the regent retained the ministers whom he found in office, and he afterwards separated himself from the Whigs.

The successes of the peninsular war were now filling the country with exultation, and caricatures against the French and against Napoleon were becoming more numerous than ever. Burlesques on their defeats spared not the fallen foe, and even a dead Frenchman had something about him to provoke a laugh. The specimen here given is taken

from a caricature published on the 10th of July, 1813, under the title of "A Scene after the Battle of Vit-



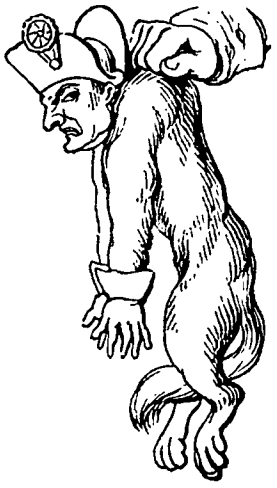
A FALLEN HERO.

toria; or, more Trophies for Whitehall." The Russian campaign, and the disastrous retreat, were still more fertile in subjects for satire and burlesque. Jack Frost and his merciless allies, the Cossacks, are represented taking their revenge on the invader in every possible manner. In one by George Cruikshank, published on the 1st of May, 1814, the commander of the latter is represented very unceremoniously "snuffing out Boney." — Cruikshank was the great caricaturist of this period.

SNUFFING OUT.

The English had now fought their way through Spain, and entered the French territory on the south, while the allies advanced on all sides upon Paris from the north, and they entered the French capital in triumph on the last day of March. Among the numerous caricatures celebrating these events, one, published on the 9th of April, represents "Blucher the brave extracting the groan

of abdication from the Corsican Bloodhound." The abdication, and the departure for Elba, were celebrated with a mass of pictorial exultation. The caricatures of this period appear under such titles as "Bloody Boney the carcass-butcher left off trade and retiring to Scarecrow Island;" "The Rogue's March," exhibiting the imperial culprit drummed out of his kingdom, while the kings of Europe are shewing their joy by dancing round a political may-pole; "A grand Manœuvre; or, the Rogue's March to the Island of Elba," in which the tyrant is represented as undergoing still greater indignities. One of these is an excellent specimen of Rowlandson's vulgarity of style. It was published on the 25th of April, 1814, and is entitled "Nap dreading his doleful doom; or, his grand entry in the Isle of Elba." The exile is just landed, and receives no great encouragement in the coarse physiognomy and manners of the inhabitants, who rush from the hills in crowds to welcome him. With anything but joy in his countenance, he exclaims, "Ah! woe is me! seeing what I have and seeing what I see!" A beauty of the island offers him consolation in the shape of a pipe—"Come, cheer up, my little Nicky, I'll be your empress." It was soon found that the deposed emperor had not yet laid aside his ambition. Little less than a year had elapsed, when he left the narrow limits of his island, reappeared in



A DOG CAUGHT.

France, and entered Paris in triumph. Europe again resounded with the din of war;—but the end of Buo-

A RECEPTION AT ELBA.

naparte's career was now fast approaching; for, after a short and uneasy reign of a hundred days, the great and decisive battle of Waterloo consigned him to the prison of St. Helena.

We will only allude briefly to the subsequent history. The Prince-Regent had already rendered himself extremely unpopular at home by his selfish love of indulgence, by his extravagance, and, above all, by his treatment of his wife. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited this country, after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, numerous caricatures, songs, and squibs contrasted the soberness and activity of the foreign monarchs with the voluptuous life of the English prince:—

"There be princes three,
Two of them come from a far countrie,
And for valour and prudence their names shall be
Enrol'd in the annals of glorie:—

The third is said at a bottle to be
More than a match for his whole armie,
And fonder of fur caps and *fripperie*
Than any recorded in storie.
Those from the North great warriors be,
And warriors they have in their companie,
Who have humbled the pride of an enemie,
Their rival in valour and glorie :—
But he of the South must stare to see
Himself in such goodly companie ;
For to say what his usual consorts be,
Would make but a pitiful storie."

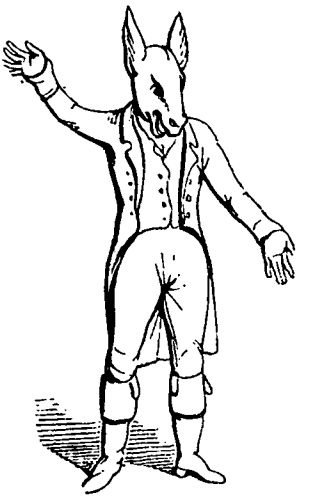
People's minds were now left at liberty to contemplate the condition of the country at home, and they began to be more and more alarmed at the fearful weight of taxation with which it was burthened. Increasing dissatisfaction and distress produced louder cries, and the financial sins of ministers were visited with caricatures and satires, as well as with the severer comments of radical journals and pamphlets. The tax on soap in 1816, is celebrated in a caricature, published on the 21st of June, representing a scene in a wash-house, where the merry

A MINISTER IN THE SUDS.

figure of the minister, Vansittart, issues from a tub of suds, to the great astonishment of the washerwoman: —"Here am I, Betty; how are you off for soap?"—

"Lord, Mr. Vansittart! who could have thought of seeing you in the washing-tub."

The English government persisted in the old traditional no-movement policy of William Pitt, when all the excitement which supported him in that policy had long died away; and they went on increasing the general discontent by a still more rigorous system of resistance to popular complaints and by an increase of political prosecutions. The period of the regency was one of national distress and national troubles. It abounded in caricatures, and in political satires and libels; indeed, it is enough to say that it was the age of William Hone. It was the age of Burdett and Cobbett, of Hunt and radical reformers and riots. Hunt, the hero of Manchester and Smithfield, was now taking the place in mob popularity which had before been held by Burdett. A caricature, published in July, 1819, entitled, "The Smithfield Parliament: *i. e.* universal suffrage — the new speaker addressing the members," represents Hunt with the head of an ass, mounted on a cart, and addressing an immense assemblage of cattle, sheep, pigs, donkeys, and other equally sapient animals, "I shall be ambitious, indeed, if I thought my bray would be heard by the immense and respectable multitude I have the honour to address." The animals applaud with a mingled murmur of voices, "hear! hear!—bravo!"



A RADICAL.

The peace commences a new era in English history. Within the few years immediately preceding and following it, English society went through a remarkably rapid change; a change, as far as we can see, of a decidedly favourable kind. The social condition of public sentiment and public morals, literature, and science, were all improved. As the violent internal agitation of the country during the regency increased the number of political caricatures and satirical writings, so the succession of fashions, varying in extravagance, which characterized the same period, produced a greater number of caricatures on dress and on fashionable manners, than had been seen at any previous period. During the first twelve or fifteen years of the present century, the general character of the costume appears not to have undergone any great change. The two figures here given, which represent the mode in 1810, may be compared with those of 1803, given on a former page. The principal difference consists in the change of the wide cravat, for a very large shirt collar, in the gentleman; and, in the lady, the excess of covering to her person. Between cap, bonnet, collar, and frill, even their faces are nearly concealed; and it is probably for this reason that they are termed in the original print "invisibles."

INVISIBLES.

A few years later the fashionable costume furnished an

extraordinary contrast with that just represented. The waist was again shortened, as well as the frock and petticoat, and, instead of concealment, it seemed to be the aim of the ladies to exhibit to view as much of the body as possible. The fops of 1819 and 1820 received the name of dandies, the ladies that of dandizettes. The accompanying cut is from a rather broadly caricatured print of a dandizette of the year 1819. It must be considered only as a type of the general character of the foppish costume of the period; for in no time was there ever such a variety of forms in the dresses of both sexes as at the period alluded to. I give, with the same reservation, a figure of a dandy, from a caricature of the same year. The number of caricatures on the dandies and dandizettes, and on their fopperies and follies, during the years 1819, 1820, and 1821, was perfectly astonishing.

A DANDIZETTE.

A DANDY.

A new mania also came to take the place of the old rage for balloons—it was the mania for hobby-horses. For two or three years it might literally be said that every man had his hobby. Hobby-horses figured in the parks, and were to be seen in every road, not only round London, but near most large towns in the country, whither this fashion was soon carried. Dandies, or not dandies, all were infected

with this strange mania, which furnished matter for caricature upon caricature in great abundance. In these, the hobby mania was often applied politically, and all colours, and parties, and ranks,—whether prince or minister, Tory or Radical—were made to ride their hobbies in one way or other. The cut with which we close the volume is taken from a caricature published on the 8th of April, 1819, and represents the military episcopal Duke of York—he was commander-in-chief and prince-bishop of Osnaburg—riding his hobby for economy, on the road to Windsor. It was a period at which the outcry against the extravagance of the civil list—in which the duke partook largely—was particularly loud and violent. John Bull, who is somewhat astonished at the figure cut by the royal hobby-rider, and his boasts of economy, exclaims, "Dang it, mister bishop, thee art saving, indeed; thee used to ride in a coach and six, now I pay thee £10,000 a-year more, thee art riding a wooden horse for all the world like a gate-post!"

A ROYAL DUKE AND HIS HOBBY.

Trivialities like these close one of the most extraordinary periods of our history.

THE END.

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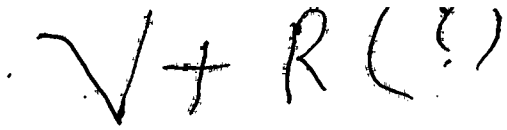

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